Classical Philology

VOLUME XX | *January 1925* | NUMBER 1

THE POSITION OF WOMEN IN ATHENS IN THE FIFTH AND FOURTH CENTURIES

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It is a commonplace that, whereas in the Aegean age and in Homer the position of women was a noble one, in Athens of the classical period it was ignoble. For example:

> The best woman, according to the Athenian definition, is she of whom "least is said for either good or harm." . . . . In this respect the Athenians were far less liberal than Sparta and other Grecian states.[1]

> *γυναῖκας, ἃς ἐβόσκομεν κατ' οἶκον*, a passage expressive of the contempt felt by the cultured Greeks for their wives.[2]

> The position of Athenian women [in the time of Aristophanes] precluded the possibility of comedy in the highest sense.[3]

> In Menander's hands the individualizing of female character and the freeing of the female will have gone but a little way: women were emerging from a state hardly above slavery, and his women are mentally without distinction.[4]

> In scena sua mulieribus primas partes dudum tribuerat Euripides novi aevi antesignanus, a comico eam ob causam saepe derisus: ipse iam comicus iis primas tribuit . . . . non iam, ut patrum aetate, tacere primum videbatur mulierum officium, non de iis tacere, in artis praesertim operibus, prima laus.[5]

> Women of the respectable class were condemned to comparative seclusion. They enjoyed far less freedom in fourth-century Athens than in the Homeric age.[6]

[1] Tucker, *Life in Ancient Athens*, p. 51.

[2] Starkie on Aristoph. *Vesp.* 313, quoting *Lysistr.* 260–61.

[3] Rennie, *Acharnians of Aristoph.*, p. 9.

[4] Neil, *Knights of Aristophanes*, p. xiv.

[5] Van Leeuwen, Arist. *Thesm.* p. ii.

[6] E. M. Walker, *Greek History*, p. 78.

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And so forth. It will be admitted that these passages fairly give the prevailing view on the position of women in Athens; that this view is almost universally held (I know of one contradiction—a sentence in an article in the *Manchester Guardian*[1]—and one important modification, by Dr. Botsford, to which I shall come later); and that it is expressed confidently, as on a matter which admits of no doubt, about which there is no conflict of evidence, and which is well known to everyone. This paper is not an attempt to prove that this view is untrue; but that there is a conflict of evidence; that much that is relevant is ignored and other evidence misunderstood and misapplied; that is, that the confidence in the prevailing view is quite unjustified.

This view, then, is that legally, socially, and in general estimation women occupied a low place in Athens in the fifth and fourth centuries, lower than in most other Greek—especially Dorian—cities of the time, lower than in Homeric and in Aegean society and than in Rome, and of course much lower than in our own enlightened age. It will be agreed that these three aspects—the legal, the social, and that of general estimation—must be kept distinct. The women of France, for instance, in the matter of property and of political rights, are in an inferior position to those of England, but no one would suggest that they are socially less free or held in less honor.[2] A resident alien in Athens and other Greek states had few rights, but he was free and had honor where honor was due. Slaves had no rights at all; but socially there was a nearer approach to equality between them and their masters than between rich and poor in England today, as can be seen from Aristophanes and Menander. Further, the *Arabian*

[1] An article by J. S. Blake-Reed on the tombs of the Ceramicus: "Damasistrate and her husband clasp hands at parting. A child and a kinswoman stand beside the chair, but husband and wife have no eyes save for each other, and the calm intensity of their parting gaze answers all questionings as to the position of the wife and mother in Attic Society" (*Manchester Guardian*, Feb. 23, 1922). See also Matthias, ap. *BPW* (1894), p. 1288, and *Jahrb. f. Philol.*, CXLVII (1893), 261–76. Zimmern's view may also be called a modification of current opinion (*Greek Commonwealth* [3d ed.], pp. 333 ff.).

[2] A future historian may put a black mark against *us*, if he relies (as he would) on Dr. Johnson: "Sir, I question if in Paris such a company as is sitting round this table could be got together in less than half a year. They talk in France of the felicity of men and women living together: the truth is, that there the men are not higher than the women, they know no more than the women do, and they are not held down in their conversation by the presence of women" (1778, *aetat.* 69). And compare Boswell on the "degree of intelligence which is to be desired in a female companion."

Nights gives us a picture of a society where women have (practically) no legal rights and are socially confined, yet are the equals of men; for there love, and especially the comic side of being in love, is almost the only thing that matters, and (as in no other book that I know) men and women are equal, and very much alike, in this important part of life. And in fact the prevailing, and surely correct, view about the women of Homer is based not on the external details of their life, for after all Penelope weaves, Nausicaa washes clothes, and even glorious Helen works at her loom, but, rightly, on the part they play in the story, the way their characters are studied, the interest shown in them. But in Athens, we are told, women were powerless in law, scarcely stirred from the rooms in which they were locked, and were systematically treated with contempt.

Now there is a certain inconsistency in the expressions of the prevailing view, which is worth examining, as it at once suggests that our confidence should be modified. It has often been observed how great an interest is shown by the Athenian vase-painters of the late Fine Period in family life; but this period is that between 470 and 430 B.C., the period of Cimon and Pericles when women are generally thought to have been of least account, the period that closes with the Funeral Speech; and these vases were made chiefly for the Athenian market.[1] To Van Leeuwen, as to many, Euripides is the rebel, and the herald of a new age; but of what age? Presumably of the fourth century; but others, such as Neil and Walker, assert the seclusion of women then; and I know of no general evidence pointing to any difference between the fourth and fifth centuries in this respect; we do not find—as we surely should—writers pointing out, whether for praise or blame, that women who in our fathers' time were slaves now are free. Aristophanes, of course, laughs at Euripides for making women talkative; but also for doing the same disservice to their husbands, making them different from Marathon men; so that does not help us.

Further: "Euripides gave the first place on his stage to women." True, but surely not more than Sophocles and Aeschylus had done?

[1] See especially Pottier, *Catalogue des vases antiques du Louvre*, III, 1041–42; and cf. Buschor, *Greek Vase-painting* (Eng. transl.), pp. 150–51, Fig. 154, a figure on a jug in Oxford of about 430 B.C., "she is the vehicle of a wonderful feeling"; see also pp. 146–47.

"It was no longer thought, as in their fathers' time, that to be silent was the first duty of women; nor that to say nothing about them was the highest merit of a work of art." Do, then, Clytemnestra and Antigone say nothing? Are their creators silent about them? In a fine passage on Euripides' women, Van Leeuwen writes:

Veras denique in scena exhibuit mulieres, non νευρόσπαστα aliqua sexum muliebrem ementita; eum mulieribus illic vindicavit locum, quem in ipsa vita assignavit iis natura, denegarunt saepe viri; ita eas pinxit ut viros—non probos potissimum viros, sed viros—ante eum pinxerant alii. Et hoc ipsum in eius arte improbabat Aristophanes; qui facile tulisset si tragicus contemtim de mulieribus nonnunquam esset locutus, ceteroquin in operibus suis eas neglegens.[1]

But who were the others who depicted men as Euripides did women? Who were the poets admired by Aristophanes who occasionally expressed contempt for women, and were otherwise silent concerning them? Certainly neither of the two great Athenians. I am not denying that Euripides may have raised questions then new to tragedy.[2] But I am speaking of the general attitude of the three poets; and if the attitude of Euripides is significant in a discussion of the position of women at Athens, that of Aeschylus and Sophocles is not less so. There is, in fact, no literature, no art of any country, in which women are more prominent, more important, more carefully studied and with more interest, than in the tragedy, sculpture, and painting of fifth-century Athens.

Professor Gardner says:

No one can read the account of Nausicaa's reception of Odysseus without feeling that dignity and self-possession such as she displays could not exist in a maiden brought up in seclusion and trained only in the labours of the loom.[3]

That is as may be; but what of Deianira? "The heroine of the *Trachiniae* has been recognised by general consent as one of the most delicately beautiful creations in literature," wrote Jebb;[4] who,

[1] Ed. *Thesmoph.*, p. vi.

[2] Doubtless Wilamowitz is in general right when he says (*Herakles* [1889], p. 10, quoted by Van Leeuwen, ed. *Ran.* iii. 1): *Es muss geradezu gesagt werden dass Euripides des weib und die durch das verhältniss der geschlechter enstehenden sittlichen conflicte für die poesie entdeckt hat.*

[3] Gardner and Jevons, *Manual of Greek Antiquities*, p. 341.

[4] Ed. *Trach.*, p. xxxi; he contrasts the Deianira *furenti similis ac torvum intuens*, the "Armenian tigress," of the Roman Seneca, pp. xliii–xliv.

naturally, compared her with Nausicaa. Is it not, in fact, true that if the position of women had precluded the possibility of the highest comedy, it would also have precluded the highest tragedy, seeing that both are but representations of life? Or rather, just as you can have some high comedy without women (or without men, for that matter)—most of the *Wasps* is high comedy of the best—so you might have some tragedy, for example, *Prometheus* or *Julius Caesar;* but very little, very restricted in range? What is the explanation of this? We are told the tragedians got their women from the great characters of the epic, just as their plots are from that source. They did not derive other things, not the religious views they expressed, nor their politics, nor their male characters; these, Orestes, Odysseus, Creon, Theseus, are—in so far as they are not universal—Athenians of the fifth century; but their women are Homeric. I like to think of Sophocles—no feminist reformer, certainly—sitting down to write a tragedy; he is a master-poet and observer, but he has led a purely masculine life; he has met no women except his mother, his wife (occasionally), and his sisters (yet more rarely), together with a few passing *filles de joie;* and he treats them with contempt, in his case doubtless a good-natured contempt. What should we expect? An *Ajax* but with no Tecmessa; an *Oedipus* with very little of Jocasta; a *Creon,* with, perhaps, an Ismene, but certainly not *Antigone.* He might have gone so far as to write an *Alcestis,* as a pretty story of proper feminine obedience. But there would have been no Attic tragedy. We have, as it happens, many references in Homer to the story of the house of Atreus which was such a favorite at Athens; but it is an interesting fact that in the epic it is Aegisthus, not Clytemnestra, who is the dominant figure and kills Agamemnon; and Orestes, with no help from Electra, who takes vengeance on Aegisthus—a very masculine tragedy. How different is the story as all three Athenians tell it.[1]

When we make statements about the position of women in the Homeric age or in Minoan Crete as confident as those we make about Athens, we are relying, rightly, on the imaginative literature of the period in one case, on the art in the other.[2] We have evidence of

[1] We may note also that the story of Antigone is of Attic origin (Jebb, Introd., *init.*).

[2] Also on the importance of goddesses; but this holds for Athens as well.

both kinds for Athens of the fifth century, and in far greater quantity. We have three poets—of very different temperaments—instead of one; we have sculpture, and hundreds, nay thousands, of painted vases. Yet this evidence is regularly ignored. Homer's Andromache, like Hector, is proof of epic feeling; but for Athens only Jason and Creon, not Antigone and Medea, are evidence. We may trust the paintings and the statuettes of Crete, but the Dresden Athena and the Sosandra of Calamis mean nothing—that statue which Lucian so admired for the grace of its pose, the comely arrangement and order of the drapery, the modest courtesy of its expression, the noble, scarcely visible smile, the foot just made for the dance, the pretty ankle, *καὶ ἄλλα μύρια*.[1] But, even if we regard Attic tragedy and temple sculpture as remote from Attic life, as I think we cannot do, but if we do, we still have the innumerable vases and the sculptured tombs, which, if anything, give us a picture of contemporary Athens. They tell the same tale as tragedy. We can observe in them as in life, as indeed we might expect, that there are two sexes, and neither creates more interest, is more prominent, than the other. Imagine a student, especially favored of Heaven, to come to the study of Homer, say, Sappho, Alcman, Simonides, and the three tragedians, and of Attic vases and sculpture, without having read anything that scholars have written about ancient life; would he suppose that there was anything remarkable about the position of women in Athens? Could he imagine that they were kept locked up and despised? "Ah," will be the answer, "that only shows the dangers of half-knowledge; wait till he comes to Thucydides and Aristotle." But at least there is a conflict of evidence, something that challenges thought and demands explanation? There is a puzzle?

As I said, there is one scholar, the late Dr. Botsford, who was not satisfied with just repeating what others have said before him. But he did not carry his view to its logical conclusion, and so left himself in what seems to me a quite obviously untenable position; in such a way, however, as to show the difficulty in the prevailing

[1] *Imag.* 6; *Dial. Meretr.* iii. 2. It is noteworthy that Lucian, in describing his ideal of feminine beauty, takes details from five different statues, the Aphrodite of Cnidos, Aphrodite of the Gardens, Pheidias' Lemnian Athena and Amazon, and the Sosandra—all of which are Athenian. Calamis and Praxiteles are the essentially Attic sculptures. It is the Dorian schools of Argos and Sicyon which are almost exclusively masculine.

view. He takes Aeschylus—as well as the vase paintings—as evidence not only for the important part played by women in contemporary life, but also for the freedom of movement which they clearly enjoyed; and he instances Isodice and Elpinice, the wife and the sister of Cimon, as historical examples. He does not adopt the theory that Elpinice assumed the Spartan manners of her brother (indeed that genial soldier was very un-Spartan in his way of life); nor does any ancient writer appear to have thought of this clever explanation, nor indeed to have considered that any explanation was necessary. But he still suffers from the burden of the Funeral Speech, and the excerpts of Stobaeus; so he supposed a decline in the succeeding generation after the comparative freedom of a century and a half since Solon; he states that women were secluded in the Periclean age, and that a revolt against this begins again in Euripides, in the *Medea*, for example.[1] But this results in a paradoxical view of Greek social history. The Funeral Speech (always assuming the sentiment in it to be Pericles' own, not Thucydides') belongs to the winter of 431–430; let us take January 1, 430, as the fatal day. The *Oresteia* was exhibited in the spring of 457, the *Medea* in 431. Only twenty-six years, then, of unquestioned seclusion? And Pericles must have been not so much hammering at a nail that had long been securely fastened in the wall as attempting to drive one back that was new, yet already threatened to come out. Moreover, Sophocles is as good evidence as Aeschylus; no change in the attitude toward women (except, of course, one individual to the writer, but irrevelant to the present question), nor any in the freedom with which they come and go on the stage, is observable in him. The *Antigone* appeared in 442 or 441, at a time that we may take, I suppose, to be the very acme of Athenian greatness, when the Parthenon was nearing completion, Pheidias was engaged on his Athena, the empire was at peace, and Pericles supreme; and Antigone is worthy of her age. Ismene, most timid of women, tries her best to dissuade her sister; but she never uses the one argument which, according to the rules we have laid down for the conduct of Greek maidens, should have been the first to

[1] *Hellenic History*, pp. 132, 219 ff., 286 ff., 332, 408 f. Some other writers have of course taken the dramatists as evidence, among them Mahaffy (*Social Life in Greece*[2] [1875], pp. 152–53, 185 ff., etc.). But that did not prevent him talking of "the really Asiatic jealousy with which women of the higher classes were locked up in imperial Athens, and the contempt with which they were systematically treated."

occur to her and immediately conclusive—she does not censure Antigone (and herself) for appearing outside the *gynaeconitis* and still more for proposing to walk through the streets of Thebes. Neither does Medea hurry indoors when the stranger Aegeus appears, and the latter—a perfectly respectable Athenian—does not seem to expect her to. But we would get into hopeless confusion if we tried to find changes in the position of women in Athens—in the social freedom they enjoyed, that is, and the estimation in which they were held—from the evidence of Attic tragedy. Neither do the vases and the sculpture of the fifth century lend any support to such a view; and we may add that the scandal that gathered round Pericles' name implied an equal degree of social freedom in the women of his generation to that enjoyed by Elpinice.[1]

So far I have been trying to show that there exists a great variety of evidence which is consistently ignored, but is strictly relevant and of the greatest importance, and I will repeat in passing that even if we do for fifth-century Athens what we have no right to do and would not think of doing for any other country or period, namely, ignore its imaginative literature (so far as it suits our theories) as being remote from life, even if we do this, we still have to account for the vases and tombstones which tell the same story. I now come to evidence of another kind, which is generally supposed to establish, not merely to support, the prevalent view, and which I consider to be generally misapplied. There are numerous passages, numerously quoted, in Attic tragedies and comedies, expressive of the general sentiment, "a woman's sphere is the home" or "a good wife obeys her husband" (not a sentiment, by the way, very foreign to our own or any other time); others again of the type, "a wife is a necessary evil." Dozens of these were collected with great industry by Stobaeus; they have been re-collected by modern writers with equal industry and used with greater folly, for at least Stobaeus did not build on them a fanciful history. Indeed he could not; for he was fond of collecting into contiguous chapters passages of opposite meaning, from the same writers: "that it is good to be a farmer," "that it is bad to be a farmer"; "that it is good to have children," "that children are a

[1] E.g., Plut. *Per.* xiii. 9 (from a contemporary source, a comic poet or Stesimtrotus: see xiii. 11). It is worth while noting what Xenophon does say about the *gynaeconitis* and its bolts and bars (*Oec.* ix. 5).

nuisance"; and so forth; and if anyone likes to read that "the best thing in life a man can have is a sympathetic wife" or "there is nothing so intimate, when you come to think of it, as a man and wife," he will find such impeccable sentiments as frequent in the *Florilegium* as in the most approved writers of other ages. But what is the value of passages thus divorced from their context, dead fragments torn from the living organism of which they were once a part? Isolate in the same way sentences from modern writers and you will see the effect; such as this from *Diana of the Crossways:*

> [If a woman gets into a divorce court] let her escape unmangled, it will pass in the record that she did once publicly run, and some old dogs will persist in thinking her cunninger than the virtuous, which never put themselves in such positions, but ply the distaff at home;

and

> men desire to have a still woman, who can make a constant society of her pins and needles.

Women were, then, equally in the nineteenth century confined to their homes and domestic occupations; respectable women did not go abroad. There was murmuring, indeed, even then, as in Athens in the time of Euripides; *Diana* again:

> Were the walls beaten down . . . . she owns that the multitude of the timorous would yearn in shivering affright for the old prison-nest, according to the sage prognostic of men; but the flying of a valiant few would form a vanguard, etc.

The future historian of England will also decide, as Professor Gardner does for Athens, that there "marriages were entered into from motives of prudence rather than of sentiment";[1] and to prove this he will quote:

> About thirty years ago, Miss Maria Ward, of Huntingdon, with only seven thousand pounds, had the good luck to captivate Sir Thomas Bertram,

[1] *Op. cit.*, p. 343. Cf. p. 353: "The Athenian married not for affection, nor to gain a companion, but to secure a trustworthy guardian of his house and goods," etc. Yet even Simonides of Amorgos, whom we are fond of quoting, wrote

θάλλει δ' ὑπ' αὐτῆς κἀπαέξεται βίος,
φίλη δὲ σὺν φιλεῦντι γηράσκει πόσει.

Cf. Plat. *Legg.* viii. 840*D: ὅταν δ' εἰς τοῦτο ἡλικίας ἔλθωσι, συνδυασθέντες ἄρρην θηλείᾳ κατὰ χάριν καὶ θήλεια ἄρρενι, τὸν λοιπὸν χρόνον ὁσίως καὶ δικαίως ζῶσιν, ἐμμένοντες βεβαίως ταῖς πρώταις τῆς φιλίας ὁμολογίαις.* And why are *Ethica Nic.* viii. 1162 *a* 16–29, and Plut. *Sol.* 20, never quoted?

of Mansfield Park, in the county of Northampton, and to be thereby raised to the rank of a baronet's lady, with all the comforts and consequences of a handsome house and large income. All Huntingdon exclaimed on the greatness of the match; and her uncle, the lawyer, himself, allowed her to be at least three thousand pounds short of any equitable claim to it.

And in a footnote he will add: "Compare the sentiments of the typical English country gentleman, Mr. John Dashwood, in *Sense and Sensibility, passim.*" He will be particularly glad to find also this quotation from *The Country House:*

It was not often that a letter demanding decision or involving responsibility came to her hands past the kind and just censorship of Horace Pendyce; many matters were under her control, but were not so to speak connected with the outside world.

Ignoring the innumerable occasions in novels when wives do in fact open their own letters, the historian will write:

Nothing shows more clearly the great difference between ancient and modern ideas as to the treatment of women. It was not customary for them to see their own letters until their husbands had first read them and decided that they might; and even Galsworthy, who was accounted an enlightened man in advance of his age, considered this to be not only proper, but kind.

That is after all what we do: in Attic tragedy women come and go from their houses at will[1] and play an important and public part; but because there is a fragment of Euripides,

ἐνδὸν μένουσαν τὴν γυναῖκ' εἶναι χρεὼν
ἐσθλήν, θύρασι δ' ἀξίαν τοῦ μηδενός,

we say that "he is convinced that their honor and happiness are

[1] And in the Old Comedy; but I do not like to base theories on this, for anything may happen in Aristophanes. The Boeotian and Megarian arrive safely in Athens in wartime in the *Acharnians*, and leave again; Lampito without difficulty keeps her appointment at Athens in *Lysistrata*. Yet some evidence may be had from the latter play, for the point is actually raised (ll. 13 ff.); but there is nothing about the impropriety of their going out nor of bolts and bars, but only of occupations which are not peculiar to Athenian women. Neither is Blepyrus shocked at Praxagora's absence in *Ecclesiazusae*, only annoyed that she has taken his clothes and, not unnaturally, suspicious (ll. 323 ff., esp. 348–50). Van Leeuwen's note on the *Lysistrata* passage is characteristic: ignoring the actual reasons given by Calonice he just writes *mulieres decebat τὸ οἰκουρεῖν*, with the usual quotation of a fragment (this time from Epicharmus).

There is another point about the plot of the *Lysistrata* which is, I think, significant, though I will not build any argument upon it: the revolt of the women brings their husbands to terms at once; there is no question of the latter finding consolation in the arms of *hetaerae*, nor of their being content with the society of their own sex. This is what we should expect if Athenian society was, in the main, of the normal European type, not otherwise.

best secured by seclusion and self-effacement," and, on what evidence I know not, that in his description of Andromache he has given us his conception of a model wife.[1] Because Menander made one of his characters say,

πέρας γὰρ αὔλιος θύρα
ἐλευθέρᾳ γυναικὶ νενόμιστ' οἰκίας,[2]

no woman ever went outside her house. Modesty, *σωφροσύνη*, we are told, was all that was required of women, as though *σωφροσύνη* were not the cardinal Greek virtue, for men and women alike. Besides, modesty is a feminine virtue now, as will be seen from the following: "No nice girl ever *wants* to marry a man," as I once read in a novel whose name I have forgotten—a *fragmentum adespotum;* "Mrs. Egerton comforted Viola by assuring her that love came gradually with nice women, and that the nicer they were the more gradually it came";[3] or, to quote Mansfield Park again:

> I *had*, Fanny, as I think my behaviour must have shown, formed a very favourable opinion of you from the period of my return to England. I had thought you peculiarly free from wilfulness of temper, self-conceit, and every tendency to that independence of spirit, which prevails so much in modern days, even in young women, and which in young women is offensive and disgusting beyond all common offence.

It is not difficult to recognize dramatic character in passages from books of our own time, when the whole books are known, just as we can guard ourselves against taking language too literally, and do not conclude from the existence of a women's corner in the newspaper that it necessarily follows that their interests are confined to subjects treated there, nor from the "Ladies' Enclosure" at Lord's that at the headquarters of cricket women are admitted indeed to the *ἀγῶνες* but excluded from the sight of men; it is more difficult to be on our

[1] Fr. 521; Haigh, *Tragic Drama*, pp. 279–80.

[2] Fr. 238. It is interesting and characteristic that this line and a half is all that is quoted in modern handbooks, though even Stobaeus preserved five:

τοὺς τῆς γαμετῆς ὅρους ὑπερβαίνεις, γύναι,
τὴν αὔλιον· πέρας γὰρ αὔλιος θύρα
ἐλευθέρᾳ γυναικὶ νενομιστ' οἰκίας,
τὸ δ' ἐπιδιώκειν εἰς τε τὴν ὁδὸν τρέχειν
ἔτι λοιδορουμένην, κυνός ἐστ' ἔργον, 'Ρόδη.

The last two lines at least should have warned us that the passage comes from a play, and had at one time some dramatic propriety.

[3] Phyllis Bottome, *The Kingfisher* (1922), chap. xxv.

guard in dealing with ancient writings and fragments from them. But we have no right to suppose sententiousness in the place of dramatic propriety; to think that Euripides and Menander, any more than Jane Austen or Mr. Galsworthy, were not building up characters, but only felt inspired to add their quota to man's proud store of knowledge as to the proper conduct and destiny of women. I shall not be believed, I know; I shall be told I am reading into the Greek a meaning which the author never intended; but that seems to me at least more intelligent than to suppose that such lines had no meaning at all. If you glance at the chapters of Stobaeus in which he has collected excerpts on marriage (that it is good to marry, that it is not good to marry, and that it is sometimes good and sometimes bad—such is his simple philosophy), if you look through these passages you will find that two, from Euripides, are as follows:

> *ζηλῶ δ' ἀγάμους ἀτέκνους τε βροτῶν·*
> *μιὰ γὰρ ψυχή, τῆς ὑπεραλγεῖν*
> *μέτριον ἄχθος·*

and

> *οὔποτε φήσω γάμον εὐφραίνειν*
> *πλέον ἢ λυπεῖν.*

But these passages, though of much the same character, are never quoted by us, as the rest are, to prove the Athenian contempt for marriage. And no wonder, for we have their context. They come from the *Alcestis*.

It will be argued: "Well, there may be some truth in what you say; but what of those passages in which men most certainly spoke their real opinions? What, for example, of Pericles and Aristotle? And, secondly, what of Menander and the New Comedy?" I might answer the first question simply by asking "What of Napoleon and Schopenhauer for the nineteenth century?" But it will be well to go into the matter in more detail; and I will begin with an analogy. The word *ἀπράγμων* is frequently used by Attic writers, especially by Aristophanes and Plato, but also by others, and always in a complimentary sense, as of a quiet, sensible man, who does not meddle overmuch in politics.[1] But if you look up Liddell and Scott on this

[1] Or of a state which does not aggressively interfere with its neighbors. It is a great deal more than "almost a term of praise in conservative writers" (Shorey, *Class. Phil.* [1920], p. 300).

word, you find, *after* many references to these writers, the sentence: "But at Athens such a man was regarded as one who shirked his public duties, whence Pericles says, *τὸν μηδὲν τῶνδε μετέχοντα οὐκ ἀπράγμονα ἀλλ' ἀχρεῖον νομίζομεν*." A single argumentative sentence (or rather two, for Pericles returns to the charge in his second speech[1]) is taken as representing the whole of Athenian thought on the matter, as though Aristophanes and the others (who include Demosthenes) were Spartans or Englishmen. So with the famous paragraph in this same Funeral Speech. Pericles says:

If I must speak of women's special virtue, I will put the whole matter in a nutshell: great is their glory who can live up to the nature that Providence has given to women, and hers especially who is least talked of amongst men either for good or for evil.

I do not say that this means nothing; on the contrary, it is of great historical and psychological interest—note how Pericles speaks with the confidence which all men assume when talking on this subject; note also the contradiction involved in saying that her fame is great who is quite unknown. But what is its significance compared with the fact that Antigone, Alcestis, Hecuba, are heroines of the Attic stage? That you cannot read an Attic tragedy without finding women who are far from being unknown among men? What does it matter that Xenophon thought that girls up to the age of fifteen should be trained to see and hear as little as possible and ask as few questions as possible (and then be married and at once put into a position of great responsibility at the head of a large household)—on which we base our view that Athenian women had no intellectual education[2]—when we gather from the *Thesmophoriazusae* that they at least knew all about Euripides, from the *Lysistrata* that they were well up in politics, and from the *Ecclesiazusae* that they had the usual popular knowledge of the latest social theories? Women were at least educated enough to be corrupted by sophists and poets, just like men.[3] So I am not much concerned when I read:

How little and seldom they went out is clear from the account which we have that after the battle of Chaeroneia the women stood trembling in the doorways, asking passers-by as to the fate of their husbands and fathers

[1] Thuc. ii. 40. 2, 63. 3.

[2] *Oec.* vii. 5; cf. *Companion to Greek Studies*, p. 599.

[3] Plat. *Gorg.* 502*D*; cf. *Legg.* 658*D*.

and sons. Even at such a crisis they did not venture out into the street; yet the orator Lycurgus calls their conduct unworthy of the city and themselves;

especially when I look up Lycurgus and find that what that would-be Spartan objected to was not the appearance at the street-doors, but the mourning and wailing: *that* was unworthy of themselves and of Athens.[1]

Lest it may appear that I am straining the evidence, I will take a similar case which makes against the general theory I am advancing. Plato believed more thoroughly than has any other political theorist in the essential similarity of the sexes, and the claim of women to equal rights and duties with men; it was as absurd, he said, to divide the world into men and women for the purpose of public affairs or of education or of anything other than the begetting and bearing of children as it would be to divide it into the bald and the not-bald. He also says, in that description of the democratic state for which so much was borrowed from contemporary Athens, that such is the passion for liberty and equality that not only has the second-rate man equal influence with the first-rate, but foreigner is equal to citizen, slave to free, women to men; all are equal, even animals to human beings. This passage is not of no account; indeed, it should be taken into consideration when we say glibly that Athens was less liberal in its treatment of women than other Greek cities, especially as in a manner it receives the support of Aristotle.[2] But if I were to build up an argument and say: "You see, women were in practice equal to men, and the Socratic circle in particular thought they ought to be made equal in law"; I might be met by this just reply: "Do not rely on men's theories, but their actions, nor on single passages but the whole tenor of their writings. Read through all the dialogues of Plato, and where will you find so purely masculine a society depicted? For the Socratic circle as he depicts it, with the one most notable exception of Diotima, women do not count." That seems to me to be true, and far more significant than any collection of passages that state that women have as much right to exist as men. It is as mascu-

[1] Lycurg. *c. Leocr.* 40; Gardner, *op. cit.*, p. 349. Diodorus, on the other hand (xiii. 55. 4), and Plutarch (*Mor.* 598*C*) are quite orthodox; and anyone who wishes may quote against me Plautus, *Epid.* 210–15.

[2] Plat. *Rep.* viii. 563*A–D; Pol.* vii (v). 1313 *b* 32; cf. viii (vi). 1319 *b* 27.

line a society as that of the *σοφοί* and their pupils of Oxford and Cambridge in the days when there were no women's colleges and Fellows were forbidden to marry.

But the argument is double edged. If Pericles said that women's only virtue was to be least spoken of among men either for good or for evil, that is, if this sentiment is rightly attributed to him (as I believe—he had a taste for paradox) and is not Thucydides' own, remember that these words were spoken by the man who was living with and was devotedly attached to the women who was most talked about in Athens both for good and for evil—Aspasia, the Hera to his Zeus, the Deianira to his Heracles, the mistress of his household, and the hostess to that circle of men and women who were the acquaintance of Pericles.[1] If Simonides ever uttered a similar sentiment—he probably did—we can reply to him, "My dear Sir, you have also written a poem called *Danaë*, which you cannot now prevent us reading"; and if Pheidias, as he may have done, said that women were ugly creatures, we may look at the sculpture from the Parthenon, and be content to smile.

[1] I am aware that the importance of Aspasia has been disputed by scholars such as Wilamowitz (*Arist. u. Athen*, II, 99. 35) and Busolt (*Griech. Gesch.*, III, 1, 505–13); who deny that she was interested in intellectual things and that men brought their wives to her house (they wouldn't, not to a *hetaera*). The steps of the argument are as follows: (1) all Plutarch's information about Aspasia comes ultimately from Aeschines Socraticus; (2) Aeschines' dialogue *Aspasia* was a romantic and unhistorical work; therefore (3) the information is not true. The premises are themselves ineffectual: the first is a doubtful statement; and as to the second, if the *Aspasia* was like other Socratic dialogues, it was *μίμησις*, a representation of life, as Aristotle says (*Poet.* 1447 *b* 11); therefore Aeschines thought it true to life to make Aspasia do and say such and such things, and Athenian men and women to discuss matters with her. There is also a second argument (Busolt, *op. cit.*, pp. 513–14): another Socratic, Antisthenes, said that Pericles was much in love with Aspasia; therefore he contradicts Aeschines; therefore Aspasia had no mind, and Pericles did not also admire her. Even if Aeschines' picture is unhistorical in respect of these two real persons, yet it is meant to be true of Athenian life in general, and that is sufficient for my purpose.

The evidence of the greatness of Aspasia is in fact like that for Pericles (Plut. *Per.* xvi. 1): the Socratics supply the direct, the comedians the indirect evidence for it, calling her Hera, Omphale, etc.

We need not even doubt that his contemporaries (at least his friends) spoke of Pericles as "married" to Aspasia, even though their son was a *νόθος*. Aristotle says that Peisistratus "married" Timonassa of Argos as his second wife, though he refers to his Athenian wife as *ἡ γαμετή* ('Αθπ. xvii. 3) and Thucydides distinguishes the children of the first marriage as *γνήσιοι* (vi. 55. 1); so Hdt. v. 94. Sandys (on 'Αθπ. *loc. cit.*) absurdly supposes that Peisistratus was still living with his first wife when he married Timonassa. Pericles, remember, divorces his wife before living with Aspasia.

It has been suggested, indeed, that the exceptional education and the social position which Aspasia enjoyed were both due to the fact that she was a foreigner and a *hetaera*. It would not, I think, be worth while referring to the remarkable view that the Athenians confined their contempt for women to those of their own class and city, while having a regard for vagrant foreigners, were it not that it has found its way, for our astonishment, into Verrall's *Four Plays of Euripides*. It is only in a passing allusion, it does not affect his argument; for that great man was the last person to use facile theories about other men's sentiments to explain what he felt to be difficulties. It will be remembered that he argues that the *Helena* was written for private performance in the house of a woman named Eido, the prototype of the Theonoe of the play, who was the daughter of a chemist or doctor named Proteas; a resident at Athens, but probably a foreigner. Eido's wisdom, "that is to say, her intellectual gifts and literary tastes, is expressly traced to the mother's side." So, says Verrall, her mother was

> probably an accomplished *hetaera*, a word for which we may be content to have no English equivalent, but which described a condition perfectly honest according to the notions of the fifth century B.C., the condition indeed of most women who took part in what we call "society."[1]

Poor woman; if Proteas was not an Athenian, she might at least have been his wife. The fallacy is partly due to the supposition that we have no English equivalent for the word *hetaera;* but we have, or rather a European one—*demi-mondaine*, a word that properly describes Aspasia and many another less gifted and less fortunate woman; the fact that Aspasia managed to get clear of her half of the world makes no difference. Substitute that word and read "her mother was probably an accomplished *demi-mondaine*," and one sees at once that it was improbable. Euripides, remember, according to Verrall, is complimenting her daughter. The whole idea of a specially educated, specially privileged *hetaera*-class is fantastic: one imagines schools at Miletus and elsewhere (Miletus, by the way, was an Ionian town where we should expect an oriental seclusion[2]) for the education of girls who were to make their way at Athens, and in Athens no "Select Establishments for the Daughters of Gentle-

[1] P. 84.

[2] Especially at Miletus (Hdt. i. 146).

men," but "Academies for Young Ladies in which are taught Geometry, Dialectic and Deportment, whereby the Daughters of Foreigners may learn how to captivate the fancy and secure the lasting affection and esteem of the leading members of the Nobility and Gentry. No Athenians need apply."

To return to the main theme: We come to Aristotle. That philosopher was a consistent believer in the inferiority of the female sex; it is a view which enters into his physiology and biology, his political and ethical, and his aesthetic theories. He does not say that women ought to be and in fact are confined to their homes, that they ought not and do not ever mix in society, that they are negligible beings, to be ignored or despised;[1] only that they are, intellectually and morally, inferior to men. In this, as far as I can see, he is not peculiarly Greek, still less peculiarly Attic; in all ages, I suppose, we should find, if we were as honest and as outspoken as the Greeks, that the majority of men believed in their own superiority. Now Aristotle's expression of this view is interesting. In the *Politics* he is at great pains to distinguish between the rule of a master over his servants (the rule of superior over inferior), that of a parent over his children, and "citizen rule," πολιτικὴ ἀρχή, the rule over persons free and equal, and to place the rule of husband over wife in the last category.[2] There is indeed an important distinction; for whereas among citizens a man rules and is ruled in turn, the rule of husband over wife is permanent. But it is at least worthy of notice that Aristotle should, in any sense, put women in the class of the "free and equal." But he is even more interesting in the *Poetics;* as we should expect, both on general grounds and because he is dealing with Attic tragedy. He is speaking of Character in tragedy, in which

> there are four points to aim at. First and foremost, that they shall be good. . . . . Each type of personage has his own goodness; for a woman has hers, and a slave his, though the former's is perhaps less than a man's, and the

[1] He did believe, though half-heartedly, in γυναικονόμοι, as in παιδονόμοι, to protect as to oversee women (*Pol.* vi (iv). 15. 3, p. 1299 *a* 22, *b* 19). But he says that such an institution is not to be found, either in democratic or in oligarchic states, but in aristocratic (vi (iv). p. 1300 *a* 4, viii (vi). p. 1322 *b* 37, cf. vii (v). p. 1310 *a* 25); that is, in dream-states only. He does also say that it is an inevitable accompaniment of poverty that women will go about in public (ἐξιέναι: *Pol.* vi (iv). p. 1300 *a* 6).

[2] *Pol.* i. p. 1259 *b* 1, 1255 *b* 20.

latter's is wholly inferior. The second point is to make them appropriate. The Character before us may be, say, manly; but it is not appropriate in a female character to be manly, or clever.[1] The third is to make them like the reality, which is not the same thing as their being good and appropriate, in our sense of the term. . . . . We have an instance . . . . of the incongruous and unbefitting . . . . in the speech of Melanippe. . . . . The right thing, however, is in the Characters just as in the incidents of the play to endeavour always after the necessary or the probable.[2]

But if Aristotle in the words ἴσως τούτων τὸ μὲν χεῖρον is, as all now suppose, simply expressing the typical Greek view (as opposed, that is to say, to the Roman or the modern view), and if, moreover, he was living in a society where this view was put most vigorously into practice, where women had in fact no chance of showing character of any kind save in domestic wrangling, why does he only notice the incongruity of Melanippe's speech? Why not the far greater incongruity, unfemininity, unlikeness to life, of all the women of Attic tragedy—all but a few, Chrysothemis, Ismene, Andromache, and, if you will, Alcestis? Melanippe's speech is objected to apparently because it was a good politician's or lawyer's speech, and women were not public speakers. But Antigone—not one speech, but everything she does and says? "The right thing is always to endeavour after the necessary and the probable." How was Antigone a probable character in such an Athens as we suppose Aristotle to have known? We expect at least that he would have explained that this kind of improbability was inevitable, without it there would be no tragedy, though we could have wished it ἔξω τοῦ δράματος. Indeed, there is no sense in which we can say that the "goodness" of Antigone is inferior to the "goodness" of Oedipus. Great observer as he was, Aristotle, as we know, was ever inclined to make his facts fit into his theories of the universe; and this instance is no exception. But here his cautious "perhaps"[3]—a caution rare with him in general and not found in his other declarations of the inferiority of females—may be a sign that he was half-conscious of being up against facts that he could neither explain nor get rid of.

[1] "What you call cleverness is not at all necessary in a girl."—Trollope, *Framley Parsonage*, chap. xl.

[2] *Poet.* 1454 *a* 16 ff.

[3] Or "doubtless"; but "doubtless" implies a doubt.

But we can go farther. The male, says Aristotle, is by nature superior, and the female inferior; and the former rules, and the latter is ruled; this principle, of necessity, extends to all mankind. But we have something else equally, if not more significant. We, when we wish to contrast our own practice with that of other peoples, speak—I do not profess to say with what justice—of an oriental treatment of women; we say, for instance, that Athenians treated their wives with a truly oriental contempt. It is surprising, but Aristotle uses much the same language: it is characteristic of barbarians, he says, that women are there treated as slaves (I say surprising, because this passage is not quoted in our treatises on the subject, though it is no remote book, but the opening pages of the *Politics*).[1] Plato says the same;[2] so did Plutarch.[3] I am not saying that Plato and Aristotle are correct in thus contrasting Greek and barbarian; but only that when they come across this phenomenon their feelings about it and their language are similar to our own. Newman in his note on the passage from the *Politics* quotes two English writers on the Fuegians and the Montenegrins, to illustrate both the sentiment and the language.

It might be thought that Aristotle was more at home with the plays of Menander than with Attic tragedy, for in Menander's hands, as I have already quoted, "the individualizing of female character and the freeing of the female will have gone but a little

[1] *Pol.* i. p. 1252 *b* 5.

[2] *Legg.* vii. 805*D–E*. This passage is particularly interesting, for he goes on: *ἢ καθάπερ ἡμεῖς ἅπαντές τε οἱ περὶ τὸν τόπον ἐκεῖνον; νῦν γὰρ δὴ τό γε παρ' ἡμῖν ὧδέ ἐστιν περὶ τούτων γιγνόμενον· εἴς τινα μίαν οἴκησιν συμφορήσαντες, τὸ λεγόμενον, πάντα χρήματα, παρέδομεν ταῖς γυναιξὶν διαταμιεύειν τε καὶ κερκίδων ἄρχειν καὶ πάσης ταλασίας·* with which he contrasts the Spartan halfway house to his own system of identical upbringing for both sexes. There is nothing here, of course, of women not mixing in society, of being confined to their houses; only their business in life, their work is domestic, and quite separate from men's, and this Plato would alter. His language is very like Meredith's (above p. 9), with the same implication. Aristotle (*Pol.* viii (vi). 1323 *a* 5) asserts that among the poorest classes in Greece, the women worked like slaves; which we can well believe.

[3] *Lucull.* xviii. 3. Monime, the Ionian wife of Mithridates, *καὶ παρὰ τὸν ἄλλον χρόνον ἀνιαρῶς εἶχε καὶ ἀπεθρήνει τὴν τοῦ σώματος εὐμορφίαν, ὡς δεσπότην μὲν ἀντ' ἀνδρὸς αὐτῇ, φρουρὰν δὲ βαρβάρων ἀντὶ γάμου καὶ οἴκου προξενήσασαν, πόρρω δέ που τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἀπῳκισμένη τοῖς ἐλπισθεῖσιν ἀγαθοῖς ὄναρ σύνεστι, τῶν δ' ἀληθινῶν ἐκείνων ἀπεστέρηται.* Is not this the language of any European? Though I will not base any argument on a later author, such as Plutarch, although he draws so much from classical sources, and his views on the proper relation between husbands and wives are as sound as Aristotle's, if more gracefully expressed (*Mor.* 139*C*. 140*D*. 142*D*, etc.). Cf. also Athenaeus xiii. 556*B*.

way: . . . . his women are mentally without distinction." Well, there have been many surprising things said about Menander, this not the least, considered as the judgment of so good a scholar as Neil; I find it difficult to believe that anyone should find Glycera and Myrrhine in *Perikeiromene* undistinguished.[1] But take it as true, there are yet two things to be noted. In the first place, Menander will have altogether deserted the tradition of the fifth century, not of Euripides only, not of tragedy only, but of comedy—think of characters like Clytemnestra, Medea, and Lysistrata in connection with the phrases "the individualizing of the female character and the freeing of the female will." Secondly, if his women are mentally without distinction, so most certainly are his men. His plays are not one-sided, ill-balanced things, with real men but shadowy women; whatever else they may be, they are admirably proportioned. I am sure Neil did not feel any lack of balance; but he had the ready idea to hand, "Women were emerging from a state hardly above slavery," and he uses it to solve a difficulty. Had he not, had he thought out some independent explanation, would he not have noticed that Menander's women are very like his men, and have added their joint lack of character as another item in the puzzle of Menander's reputation in antiquity? If you think it a puzzle; I do not.[2]

I will recapitulate the argument of one of Menander's plays, the *Epitrepontes*, the best preserved. Pamphile, the daughter of a well-to-do citizen, some ten months before the play opens, on the occasion of one of those nocturnal festivals from which modern parents would be so careful to guard their daughters, but which Attic freedom allowed, had had an adventure with a youth inflamed with wine, with the result usual for the prelude to a romantic comedy. In the darkness neither had seen the other's features, but Pamphile managed to get hold of a ring worn by him. Four months later

[1] [Since this was in type, I have realized that Neil was writing before the discovery of the greater part of our Menander. It is rather the rashness of the judgment that should be noted.]

[2] One may compare Xenophon's Ischomachus and his wife. "Perhaps the most remarkable blot in Xenophon's sketch is the total absence of any intellectual requirements on the part of the woman," says Mahaffy (*op. cit.*, p. 279). But it is not at all remarkable; there is nothing intellectual about Ischomachus either and naturally he does not demand anything of the sort in his wife. He is simply the "economic man," seeking how to make his estate pay best; and he requires an economic wife. He is to make the money, she to spend it (a division of labor which many might be glad to adopt). Xenophon is supposed to give us a complete picture of the ideal Athenian wife; as if Xenophon gives a complete picture of anything. As well call his Socrates complete.

Pamphile marries a young man named Charisius; and five months afterward, during her husband's absence abroad, she gives birth to the child she had conceived at the midnight festival. She had told no one of her adventure but her old nurse, neither Charisius nor her father; and now, fearful of discovery, she exposes the child, which is found and ultimately adopted by a charcoal-burner, Syriscus. But Charisius later hears of the event and in an outburst of anger invites some companions of his youth and a flute-girl to his house, which Pamphile has apparently left for a neighbor's, and tries to drown his sorrow and forget his love for his wife by drinking and merrymaking. But he cannot drive his love from his heart, and refuses to have anything to do with the flute-girl; conduct at which she is much hurt.

Smicrines, Pamphile's father, highly indignant at this treatment of his daughter by Charisius, and ignorant of her story, also anxious for the dowry which she brought to her husband, comes to visit her in great anger and tries to induce her to return to him and get a divorce, and so save at once her honor and his money. She, as devoted to Charisius as he to her, and knowing the true cause of his conduct, refuses and defends her husband. Charisius, by a fortunate chance, overhears this conversation, and is more than ever moved by his love for her because of her tenderness toward him; and when it is proved to him that the child adopted by Syriscus is his own and he thus convicted of the very crime he had been charging against his wife, he suffers a complete revulsion of feeling:

> Dearest Pamphile, what tender words were yours! what a wife I have lost by my folly! I am the sinner; I am the father of a bastard child, and I showed no whit of forgiveness to her in her same distress, brute and merciless as I was. I so noble, so wise, so spotless! She so gentle to me, I so harsh to her.[1]

It all ends happily, of course; the foundling is the child of both Pamphile and Charisius; and only Smicrines is disappointed of his anger.

Now such a story is intelligible and pleasurable to us, because, granted the preliminary facts, the conduct and sentiments of the characters—the jealousy of Charisius, the steadfastness of Pamphile, their mutual affection, the indignation of old Smicrines, the kind-heartedness of Abrotonon—are such as we can understand and share;

[1] Ll. 492–545, Van L.

they are, not indeed modern, but universal; the treatment is modern and therefore particularly delightful. But they could not have been intelligible, they could scarcely have been possible, in an Athens where there was no kind of equality between the sexes, where there were no marriages of affection and husbands regarded their wives with contempt—naturally, since the best women were dolls—and where, as we are solemnly assured, it was usual and respectable for a married man to have a mistress and the ideal wife tolerated her presence and brought up his bastard children.[1] It makes one impatient to have to point out anything so obvious; but what else can one do?

Some years ago there was published a book called *Antimachus of Colophon, or Women in Greek Poetry*, by E. F. M. Benecke,[2] which dealt with the position of women considered from the point of view of sentiment. It received the blessing of Jebb and of the Cambridge *Companion to Greek Studies*,[3] and it has the great merit of bringing the whole argument to its logical conclusion. If, he argued, men and women never met, love between them was impossible; if men despised women, romantic sentiment on the part of the former at least was unthinkable; therefore there was no romantic sentiment in Greece between men and women. The logic of this we may admit,[4] and as it did not occur to Benecke to doubt his premisses, he sought only to establish his conclusions. Need I say that he performed this task by the by now familiar process of quoting fragments—especially from that branch of Athenian literature of which we know least—the Middle Comedy? He found, indeed, many jokes, culled by Athenaeus, at the expense of marriage, some good, some bad; such as "I don't so much blame a man for marrying once, he has had no experience; but a man who does it a second time deserves no pity";[5]

[1] Cf. Jebb on *Trach.* 447 ff.: "The meaning is not merely that Iole's relation to Heracles was excused by the omnipotence of Eros. Concubinage [παλλακία] was not merely tolerated by Attic opinion, but, in some measure, protected [Lys. i. 31; Isocr. viii. 39]. Its relation to the life of the family is illustrated by the *Andromache* of Euripides, for though Andromache is Trojan, and Hermione Spartan, the sentiments are Athenian [see ll. 226, 938–42]." How easily sentiments in tragedy become Athenian when they suit the current view! Yet the *Agamemnon*, if not common sense, might have warned us against this long ago. Athenaeus understood classical Greek sentiment well enough (xiii. 556*b*).

[2] Sonnenschein, 1896.

[3] Pp. 616–17.

[4] Always bearing in mind, however, the society of the *Arabian Nights*, where the sexes are segregated, but love, romantic or otherwise, is common.

[5] Both Eubulus (Kock, II, 205) and Aristophon (*ibid.*, p. 277) thought of this.

"how happy must grasshoppers be, where the females are dumb";[1] "how much better to have a mistress than a wife; the latter with the law behind her can treat you with contempt and remain your wife; but a mistress knows she must please you or find another lover";[2]

A: Do you know he's married?

B: Married, you say? and only last week I left him alive and walking about.[3]

I need hardly say that such jests are not confined to the Middle Comedy. You also find sentimental lines of the kind, "It is nice when husband and wife are at one," and one would have supposed that if Athenian sentimentality and Athenian humor (both in success and in failure) about marriage was much like our own, it was evidence, so far, that their general ideas about that institution were also similar.[4] But Benecke thought not only that Greek and modern ideas were as the poles apart—that went without saying—but that we could trace a change of sentiment, to the advantage of marriage and the romantic passion, in the course of the fourth century; and that this change was largely due to the poem called *Lyde*, by Antimachus of Colophon, written about 400 B.C., a work and poet about which we know less than we do about the majority of lost Greek poems and their authors. In the Middle Comedy—of which we know so little—we are told, love was felt only for *hetaerae* and was not of an elevated kind; in the New, love as we understand it, romantic love, began to come into its own.[5] Antimachus, we read, was responsible for this. Before him you do not find in Greek poetry any man in love with a woman. Aristophanes makes Aeschylus say:

οὐδ' οἶδ' οὐδεὶς ἥντιν' ἐρῶσαν πώποτ' ἐποίησα γυναῖκα·[6]

[1] Xenarchus (*ibid.*, p. 473).

[2] Amphis (*ibid.*, p. 236).

[3] Antiphanes (*ibid.*, p. 108).

[4] The modern equivalent of this humor being: *faute de mieux on se couche avec sa femme.*

[5] It is hardly necessary to say that advice not to marry can be found in Menander as in Antiphanes (e.g., Kock, III, 22), and abuse of *hetaerae* in the Middle Comedy. We may also compare Mommsen on Roman comedy (*Hist. of Rome*, III [1894], 154–55): "In the endless abundance of cudgelling and in the lash ever suspended over the backs of the slaves we recognize very clearly the household-government inculcated by Cato, just as we recognize the Catonian opposition to women in the never-ending disparagement of wives."

[6] *Ran.* 1044. Athenaeus, by the way, probably relying on Hermesianax, regarded Lyde simply as one of many courtesans famous in literature, like Mimnermus' Nanno (xiii. 597*A*, 598*A*, *B*), from whom Benecke thought sharply to distinguish her.

It was not, says Benecke, necessary for him to repudiate the charge of bringing men in love on the stage; the thing was unknown. Some years ago I saw a play by Brieux the moral of which—if one may speak of the moral of so excellent a comedy—was that a man is no better off, not more free from petty tyranny, with a mistress than with a wife; it depended for its point on a general assumption that, as Amphis said, he is freer unmarried. I can imagine that in some future age, if some of our own epigrams on marriage are preserved, and some reference to the story of Brieux' comedy, and perhaps a romantic novel of the 1920's ending in a happy marriage, the historian will write:

> A great change of sentiment seems to have taken place in Europe in the early years of the twentieth century; before then marriage was the subject for mocking laughter [see Oscar Wilde, fr. 126, Shaw, fr. 55, etc.], afterward for romance. The change may have been in part due to a lost comedy by Brieux, which appeared about 1910; though we may see how great a gulf is fixed between ancient and modern sentiment by the fact that that writer only recommended marriage on very low grounds, because a man was no better off with a mistress.

This is not a whit more fantastic than Benecke's house of cards. No love before Antimachus! One may suggest that there is a certain famous chorus in the *Antigone* beginning

ἔρως ἀνίκατε μαχάν,

written forty years before the *Lyde* appeared, and by a greater poet; Deianira says she will forgive Heracles his infidelity because it is the same passion which dominates mortal and immortal, men and women alike; Euripides wrote a speech over which the men of Abdera went mad,

O Love, high monarch over gods and men;

there is that most romantic of all stories, how Achilles conquered the Amazons, and fell in love with the princess Penthesileia at the moment of her death at his hands; there are some lovely lines in the *Agamemnon* describing Menelaus' home in the absence of Helen. But I am afraid the reader will object that the lightest whisper of the name of Helen is an undue stressing of the obvious. I think so too; and several times while I have been writing this paper I have been inclined to tear it up, content with a comfortable dogmatism of my own.

I am not, of course, imagining for a moment that I have exhausted my subject. I have, for instance, said nothing of the evidence of the

orators, nothing of Plautus and Terence. I know that there is much which appears to support the prevailing view. Every country has its own conventions and customs, and Athens had hers: one gathers from the first speech of Lysias and elsewhere, for example, that it was a common thing for a man to invite a friend to dinner, at which his wife would not be present; there are no women in the glimpses of social life at Athens which Plato gives us; it would be difficult to imagine a modern comedy in the subject of the *Clouds* or the *Wasps*, in which the wives of Strepsiades and Philocleon did not play a prominent part (they are both mentioned, remember, but do not appear). One might recall other similar instances. But it has not been my intention to examine, however briefly, all the evidence. Let me repeat that all that I have tried to do is to prove that the matter is doubtful, that there is a problem to be solved. I do indeed believe that it is certainly wrong to speak of "Attic contempt" for women; and also that there is no reason to suppose that in the matter of the social consequence and freedom of women Athens was different from other Greek cities, or the classical from the Homeric age—ancient writers seem to be unconscious of any such difference except in the special matter of the athletic training which girls received at Sparta. But, for the rest, I consider it very doubtful if Greek theory and practice differed fundamentally from the average, say, prevailing in mediaeval and modern Europe. When Theognis said, "I hate a woman who gads about and neglects her home," I think he expressed a sentiment common to most people of all ages; and at least there were gadabouts for him to disapprove of. After all, a great deal of Greek literature deals with the relations between the sexes in one form or another; and it would have died long ago if Greek sentiments had been radically opposed to ours. And, if the view which now obtains is correct, I would emphasize certain paradoxes: first and foremost, that in that case Attic tragedy and art are in one most important respect remote from Attic life—a phenomenon surely unique in history; that it was the lover of Aspasia who is thought particularly to have despised women; that it is when you come to the inner shrine, the intimate secrets of the platonic philosophy, that you meet Diotima; and that it was this unromantic people of Greece who created and preserved the story of Helen.

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ON AUGUSTUS' REFERENCES TO HORACE

By Tenney Frank

A. THE THEME OF HORACE *Carmen* iii. 16

The Suetonian *Life of Horace* contains quotations from several letters of Augustus, one of which, addressed to Maecenas, reads:

Ante ipse sufficiebam scribendis epistulis amicorum; nunc occupatissimus et infirmus Horatium nostrum ⟨a⟩ te cupio abducere. Veniet ergo ab ista parasitica mensa ad hanc regiam et nos in epistulis scribendis adjuvabit.

The biographer adds quotations from later letters to show that Horace's refusal of this offer, couched in the tense of a royal command, caused no offense.

The precise nature of the position which Horace was asked to accept is not entirely clear. He was apparently not to be the emperor's regular secretary, his *a manu*. This was a position which varied with each emperor. Julius Caesar had made the secretaryship a very dignified office, employing in it a knight, Pompeius, the father of the famous historian, Pompeius Trogus, and giving him not a little responsibility as master of legations and custodian of his seal (Justinus xliii. 5. 12). Augustus broke with this precedent, and employed a personal slave, Thallus, as regular secretary, a man who would be completely at his command. And we may suppose that since the routine work of the office was given to a menial, Horace, who was to attend to the *scribendis epistulis amicorum*, which Augustus had hitherto done, would rather assume the position of a *comes*. A few years later Albinovanus Celsus, a poetaster and friend of Horace, is addressed as *comiti scribaeque* of the youthful Tiberius (*Ep*. i. 8; cf. i. 3. 15) and warned not to let the good fortune of his new office make him scornful of old friends. The position is apparently analogous to that offered Horace. If the office implied so much *fortuna* in the staff of Tiberius, then only potentially the "heir-apparent" and a youth of twenty-one, we may measure its possibilities in Augustus' cabinet as very important. It was certainly an office of dignity and some discretion, since it entailed an intimate knowledge

of delicate court and family relations. We may assume, therefore, since Augustus was exceedingly liberal to his intimate assistants, that Horace was to be assigned large estates so that he might live in the new surroundings with becoming propriety. He was no longer to be a dependent, as Augustus somewhat invidiously hints that he was in the household of Maecenas.

We are not able to date this letter. It is reasonable to suppose, however, that Horace could hardly have refused a summons from Augustus in his early career of poverty and obscurity, also that Augustus would not have spoken of his household as *regia* before he became sole ruler in 31. A plausible date would be between 29 (his return from the east) and 27 (the year of his departure for his long campaigns in the west).

Horace's refusal of this command must have required very serious consideration, and it would be strange if the momentous decision left no trace in his writings which speak so frequently of his own experiences. There is one poem, *Carmen* iii. 16, doubtless written between 30 and 23 B.C., which treats very candidly of some important renunciation on the poet's part, and this, it seems to me, is best interpreted as a reference to Augustus' offer. Here, after a cynical introduction in which Horace bitterly hints that even the celestials employ gold with which to seduce mortals, he says abruptly:

> jure perhorrui
> late conspicuum tollere verticem,
> Maecenas, equitum decus.

To what other opportunity could this refer? A *libertino patre natus* did not have to dread the imposition of high political office; and a career of trade, in which Horace might presumably have engaged, did not lift such a man into a conspicuous position at Rome. That the reference is to a deliberate choice is apparent from the lines:

> nil cupientium
> nudus castra peto et transfuga divitum
> partes linquere gestio.

The comparison of his few acres of Sabine woodland with a wide domain in Africa, which he assumes might have been his, reveals the consciousness of what his act of self-denial had meant. And

finally, in the most personal and candid lines of the poem he relieves his friend of the burden of implied rebuke that might lie in the phrase *parasitica mensa*. He frankly acknowledges that it is Maecenas who has given him leisure for poetry, and that what Maecenas has bestowed and stands ready to offer is enough for gratitude:

> Importuna tamen pauperies abest,
> nec si plura velim tu dare deneges.

As usually interpreted, the poem is regarded as a cynical interpretation of a myth with a long, rambling epilogue of stoic commonplaces, but since in his *Ars Poetica* Horace has inveighed against the neglect of unity in poetry, it is only reasonable to assume singleness of purpose in every one of the *Odes*. In iii. 16 I would hold that the purpose is to break the sting of Augustus' letter to Maecenas by a candid acknowledgment of the liberality which has made Horace not a parasite but a man of leisure for letters, and the first four stanzas do not present the theme of the poem, but, by way of introduction, suggest how the mighty may prostitute art by the offer of wealth.

B. HORACE *Epistle* i. 13 AND AUGUSTUS' ANSWER

The thirteenth epistle of Horace's first book, *ut proficiscentem docui*, is apparently the letter which accompanied Horace's gift of a copy of his three books of odes to Augustus. Line 17 refers to the contents as *carmina;* there is more than one roll (*signata volumina*, l. 2) in the package (*fasciculum librorum*, l. 3), and the letter is included in a publication which came out not long after the *carmina* were published.

The letter is in the vein of persiflage and full of puns. Playing on the name of the bearer, which for some reason suggests to him the appellation Asina, Horace alludes jokingly to the weight of the load which the beast of burden has to carry (*gravis sarcina, viribus uteris, sudavisse, nitere*). From this we may infer that in his opinion the package might disappoint Augustus as containing less than the emperor would expect. If his work was measured by the number of books that Vergil had completed in the same time, Horace might perhaps seem an unproductive poet.

Now Suetonius quotes a letter addressed by Augustus to Horace which is clearly an answer to just such an apologetic note of presentation:

> Pertulit ad me Onysius libellum tuum, quem ego, ut accusantem quantuluscumque est, boni consulo. Vereri autem mihi videris ne majores libelli tui sint quam ipse es. Sed tibi statura deest, corpusculum non deest, itaque licebit in sextariolo scribas, quo circuitus voluminis tui sit ὀγκωδέστατος sicut, est ventriculi tui.

The messenger sent by Horace is a Vinius or Vinnius (if this be a nomen and not a pun) whose cognomen somehow suggests the word Asina, though commentators rightly point out that this is not a probable cognomen. Because of the *tria nomina* Heinze supposes that he must belong to the inner *Hofgesellschaft*. The tone of the poem is, however, difficult to reconcile with that supposition. The messenger is treated as though he were a freedman, if not a slave, and he is probably the Onysius mentioned in Augustus' letter. With a capacity for etymologizing quite on the par with Varro's, Horace here seems to imply that the name Onysius is related to ὄνος, which he translates into Asina. Perhaps the Vini of the second line is only a word-play on Dionysius, from which he must have known that Onysius derived. At any rate, the name seems to connect Augustus' letter with Horace's epistle.

In content, also, the letter seems to be a direct response to the apology of the epistle for the brevity of the composition: *ut accusantem quantuluscumque est.* Augustus, however, uses a word nowhere else found when he suggests that if Horace would only write *in sextariolo* his volumes would resemble the author in his expansive girth and brevity of stature. The commentators assume that this means the same as *sextarius*, a pint measure; but it is difficult to comprehend how a *sextarius* could be used as a tablet on which to write poems. It is more likely that the word is an otherwise unknown technical name for some form of papyrus-roll. *Volumina* differed as much in height then as books do now. The more splendid ones might stand a foot high, while short ones have been found decurted to 2 inches (Schubart, *Das Buch*, p. 48). The suggestion of Augustus is apparently that Horace might increase the girth of his volume by reducing

the height of the page. In that case *sextariolus* is presumably a diminutive roll which measures 2 inches, or a sixth of the splendid 1-foot roll.

In connecting Augustus' letter with Horace's epistle we are of course met with the incongruity that Augustus explicitly refers to a *libellum* whereas Horace's *carmina* were in three volumes. Perhaps, like prudent recipients of authors' copies today, the wary emperor immediately acknowledged the gift before opening the package to read the contents, and thus fell into a slight error. If the occasion was not this very one, the reference must be to the gift of the second book of satires many years before, and we must assume that Horace's apologies were then practically identical with those of *Epistle* xiii, and that the bearer was the same Onysius. At any rate we have in the identification of the name a clue to the tone of the epistle.

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PETRONIUS AND THE COMIC ROMANCE[1]

By B. E. Perry

In the present state of our knowledge, and owing to the nature of the problem itself, any attempt to account for the origin and peculiarities of Petronius' *Satyricon* must involve, at one point or another, the assumption of something that cannot be definitely proved. The following study is subject, of course, to these limitations. It is undertaken, however, in the belief that certain facts of ancient literary history have not hitherto received their proper evaluation in this connection, and that some advance may yet be made toward a more probable and comprehensive solution of this important problem.

The *Satyricon*, or rather what remains of it, relates, in autobiographical form, the low-life adventures of a degenerate rhetorician, Encolpius—a fellow of negative character who lives, though not very successfully, by his wits and by the arts of the parasite. Accompanied by a young favorite named Giton, whose loyalty constantly wavers, this anti-hero, Encolpius, wanders aimlessly about, constantly involved in ludicrous intrigues with low, though sometimes educated, companions and everywhere pursued, it would seem, by the wrath of an offended Priapus.[2] Into this general framework are introduced

me quoque per terras, per cani Nereos aequor
Hellespontiaci sequitur gravis ira Priapi;

also 133, 137, 104, 17, 21; and E. Klebs, *Philologus* XLVII, 623 ff.

such elaborate side shows as Trimalchio's dinner, the brilliant harangues on the decay of liberal arts, the long poem on the Civil War, or the story of the matron of Ephesus. The realistic portrayals of men and manners throughout combine to give us a gay, but often grotesque panorama of society unmasked and unrobed; and, to

[1] Read at the meeting of the Ohio Classical Conference at Delaware, October, 1923, under the title, "Petronius and his Greek Sources."

[2] Cf. chap. 139:

borrow a phrase from Petronius himself, "everything resounds with mimic laughter."[1]

Such, in brief, is the *Satyricon*. When we ask ourselves how such a story came to be written, and what known type, or types, of literature may have served as its chief model or forerunner, we are confronted with several interesting possibilities.[2] The Menippean satire, the mime, the epic, the Greek erotic romance, and the Milesian tales have each apparently contributed something to the tone, or the subject-matter, or the structure of Petronius' work. It is an easy matter, in fact, to discover sources for various specific characteristics of the *Satyricon;* and it is likewise easy to see that Petronius must be credited with a considerable amount of originality in the handling of his basic literary model, whatever that may have been. In attempting to decide what this model most probably was, we ought to look for a form of literature which bears the most fundamental similarity to the *Satyricon*, not in the details of subject-matter, or even plot, so much as in the main tendency of the story and its more radical type characteristics. The fact, for instance, that the *Satyricon* contains a long description of a banquet is surely less significant in the question of its origin than the fact that it is, by and large, a narrative of adventure. And, when we have chosen that form of literature which appears to make the nearest approach to the *Satyricon*, we shall want to define as far as possible the originality of Petronius, and to account for the gap existing between his work and its assumed literary ancestor. The narrower the gap, and the more readily it may be explained in terms of literary growth and practice, so much the more probable will be our choice of the original model or logical forerunner. The chief difficulty with many of the suggested lines of descent lies in the fact that they postulate such wide gaps between the *Satyricon* and its supposed antecedents, and such radical innovation or reconstruction on the part of Petronius, as can scarcely be paralleled

[1] Chap. 19, *omnia mimico risu exsonuerant.* I agree with Preston (*Class. Phil.*, X, 261) and Thomas (*Pétrone*, p. 213) that the keynote of the *Satyricon* is struck in this passage. Preston observes very justly that Petronius "conceived of himself primarily as a γελωτοποιός" and that "nowhere else in Latin literature is such a premium put on laughter."

[2] These are discussed in an interesting article by Professor F. F. Abbott, *Class. Phil.*, VI, 257 ff.

in literary history. This, I think, should be avoided if at all possible. We should keep to the historical and evolutionary method, even if it becomes necessary to assume a missing link.

For the sake of a little orientation, let me review briefly a few of the more important theories heretofore advocated.

The view that the *Satyricon* is a Menippean satire expanded into a romance (whatever that means) has been held by such a formidable array of scholars as Rohde,[1] Ribbeck,[2] W. Schmid,[3] Hirzel,[4] and more recently by J. Geffcken.[5] None of these men, however, has had much to say on the subject beyond a few *obiter dicta*. They note the title of the work, *Satyricon* or *Satirae*, the mixture of prose and poetry as in Varro, and the recurrence of numerous themes common to satire. But it is hard to see how any of these similarities can be regarded as fundamental.

The title as given in the manuscripts ranges from *Satirarum libri* and *Saturicon*, or its intended equivalent *Satyrici libri*, through various obvious corruptions of these words. The best manuscripts have *Saturicon*;[6] and it is surely much more probable that an original Greek genitive *Satyricon* has been misunderstood and corrupted into the familiar Latin *Satirae* than, conversely, that *Satirae* has evolved into the less familiar but correct form *Satyricon* (*sc. libri*). The propriety of such a title is not hard to understand; it falls in line with the usual title of a Greek romance, such as Βαβυλωνιακά (Suidas, *s.v.* Iamblichus), Ἀιθιοπικά (Heliodorus), etc.,[7] and probably meant simply a romance dealing with things of a *satyr-like* character. That

[1] *Der Griechische Roman*,[3] p. 267. [2] *Röm. Dichtung*[2], III, 150.

[3] *Neue Jahrb. f. d. kl. Alt.*, XIII (1904), 476.

[4] *Der Dialog*, II, 37.

[5] *Neue Jahrb. f. d. kl. Alt.*, XXVII (1911), 485.

[6] That is, BDEFG*pt*. See Bücheler's Preface in the edition of 1862, pp. xiv, xxv–xxvi, and 2. *Petronii arbitri satirarum 1.* is the reading of P; but P seems to be the only MS in which any form of the noun *satira* occurs.

[7] Cf. C. W. Mendell in *Class. Phil.*, XII (1917), 168; and Suidas: *Ξενοφῶν Ἀντιοχεύς, ἱστορικός. Βαβυλωνιακά· ἔστι δ' ἐρωτικά.—Ξενοφῶν Κύπριος· Κυπριακά. ἔστι ὲ καὶ αὐτὰ ἐρωτικῶν ὑποθέσεων ἱστορία.—Φίλιππος Ἀμφιπολίτης, ἱστορικός. Ῥοδιακά, βιβλία ιθ'· ἔστι δὲ τῶν πάνυ αἰσχρῶν.* These titles are cited in the nominative, of course, but they probably appeared on the title-page in the genitive followed by λόγοι or *βιβλία* plus a numeral, or with the numeral alone. Strictly, the work of Petronius should be cited not as *Satyricon*, but as *Satyrica*.

is, in fact, exactly what we have in Petronius' work; for Priapus plays an important part in the plot, and the activities of Encolpius, Giton, and Ascyltus are pre-eminently *satyrica* in this sense, that is, *phallic.* The genitive ending in *-on* shows clearly enough that Petronius regarded his title as Greek, i.e., not derived from Latin *satira;* and this Greek word, *σατυρικός*, regularly had the meaning satyr-like or pertaining to satyrs, whether applied to the drama or to anything else, from the earliest times to the latest.[1] The elder Pliny uses the word in this sense when he speaks of *saturica signa,* i.e., statues of Priapus (xix. 50) or *saturicos motus* (of certain birds, x. 138); and Plutarch applies it to men who resemble satyrs, either in outward appearance (*Cato* 7) or in conduct (*Galba* 16; *Pericles* 13). The title *Satyricon* (*sc. libri*) is therefore thoroughly appropriate to an obscene novel; whereas, *Satirae,* which regularly means a number of separate satirical essays, seems much less appropriate and more difficult to explain.

As for the recurrence in the *Satyricon* of numerous themes common to satire (a very loosely defined type), it should be remembered that many of these are also common to other forms of literature, and that even in their aggregate they are probably not much more numerous than the themes belonging to the mime,[2] for instance, or to the Milesian tale (i.e., realistic novella). As Professor Mendell observes, it is natural that satire should have influenced the novel of Petronius as it did other forms of Roman literature, epigram, lyric, mime, history, and even epic (see Petronius' *Bellum Civile*); but the fact of this influence, which is also reflected in the prose-poetic form, does not go far toward convincing us that the *Satyricon* is essentially or primarily a satire, or that it owes its origin to satire. In the main narrative, which is what we have to explain, Petronius differs from Varro and the satirists in that he shows no evidence of

[1] The meaning "satirical," or "belonging to satire," appears to be late and to have originated with grammarians who associated Roman satire with the Greek satyr-drama; so Lydus, *De Mag.* 41. After a prolonged search through the lexicons and *indices verborum,* I am unable to find any instance earlier than Lactantius or the *scholia* on Juvenal i. 168, in which the word *satyricus* has reference to satire, either in Greek or in Latin. That it may have been so used by grammarians in the time of Petronius is not improbable; but the other meaning was certainly common, and of much longer standing.

[2] See the parallels listed by M. Rosenblüth, *Beiträge zur Quellenkunde von Petrons Satiren,* pp. 36–55.

moral seriousness. Everything is presented from a purely objective point of view, to all appearances merely for fun, and without any traces of the author's approval or disapproval. If Petronius had any ulterior philosophical purpose in describing the burlesque adventures of Encolpius, then he has concealed that purpose very effectively; for the tone is nearly everywhere gay and always unmoral.[1] On the other hand, the brilliant harangues on literature and art, and the clever, often beautiful, poems that have been inserted into the main story undoubtedly represent the author's own serious thought and his best artistic effort. That these are formally subordinated to the burlesque narrative, and that they are put into the mouths of rascals, or even ridiculed at times, may be explained as due to Petronius' dislike of posing as serious or didactic. To do so, even in the guarded manner of Horace, would not only be distasteful to him as a sophisticated courtier, but, in the realm of poetry at least, even dangerous. Petronius must have known Nero well enough to beware of his jealousy. If he was to give expression to that poetic genius which he possessed in a greater degree than anyone of his age, he must not, like the ill-fated Lucan, profess to be a poet, but only a trifler. Accordingly, the *Satyricon* consists mainly in a purely burlesque and unmoral novel (a form apparently despised by ancient critics), while the artistic expression of the author is made to appear incidental and playful. Which of the two elements took precedence in the author's mind and was responsible for the writing of the book, we have, of course, no means of determining; but the composition of a long, burlesque novel, though it served a definite purpose and gave the

[1] Professor Abbott observes with a great deal of truth that much of what appears to be satirical in Petronius is so only because we are setting up in our own minds a comparison between the abuses described (perhaps merely for fun) and the requirements of good taste. The subject-matter of the *Satyricon*, like that of the realistic novella, by its very nature may be regarded as constituting a satire on society; but this does not mean that the author is a satirist, if by "satirist" we mean one whose chief purpose, like that of Varro, Horace, or Juvenal, is to criticize society from an ethical point of view. For this implies either an attempt to correct, or moral indignation or reaction to things as they are. But the only inference, if any, that Petronius by his tone would encourage us to draw seems to be that society is incorrigible and not worth worrying about; and that it is the part of wisdom not, like the satirists, to carp at conditions which are sadly inevitable, but to look only for amusement in the comedy of human life. Petronius is a cynic; but his cynicism is not that of the school, or of Menippus, who would scale heaven for philosophical truth. It is deeper and more somber; it springs evidently from a profound though latent pessimism, from the cosmic disillusionment of the man of the world.

author many an opportunity for self-expression, was probably no mere means to an end but likewise an end in itself. Such a performance rings true to the character of the cynical *arbiter elegantiae* as described by Tacitus—the man who regarded nothing more worth while than idle amusement and who, at the hour of death, "listened to no discourses on the immortality of the soul or teachings of the philosophers, but only to trivial songs and light verses."

Since the story part of the *Satyricon* has every appearance of being written primarily to amuse, we may conclude that it is not a satire, expanded and incidentally taking on the form of a romance, but rather a romance which has been influenced to some extent by satire. It is possible, of course, that this romance was the first of its kind, and that it was created on the basis of no better prototype than a Menippean satire; but the transition here seems too abrupt, and there are other forms of ancient literature which make a nearer approach.

The attempt to establish some sort of connection between the work of Petronius and the Greek erotic romances, though always inviting, was long delayed by the prevailing belief that the latter species did not come into being before the second century A.D. But this date for the origin of the Greek romance is now known to be wrong. The discovery of the Ninus romance on a papyrus which had become waste paper in 101 A.D. has shown very clearly that the erotic romance, as a type, must have been in existence at least by the middle of the first century A.D., probably much earlier.[1] It is possible, therefore, that Petronius took his pattern for the *Satyricon* from the Greek romances. This hypothesis would explain in some measure the provenience of the general type, a story of adventure featuring two lovers whose experiences sometimes bear a close *outward* resemblance to those of the Greek hero and heroine. But, even so, we have still to account for the vast difference in nature between the two species of romance: the Greek is idealized and serious, while Petronius is realistic and burlesque.

[1] See the scholarly monograph of B. Lavagnini, *Le Origini del Romanzo Greco*, Pisa, 1921. Lavagnini shows in a very convincing way that the romance evolved from the elaboration, popular and historiographical, of local legends in Hellenistic times; cf. *AJP*, XLIV, 371 ff., and, for the early date, Mendell, *op. cit.*, pp. 161–62, 165; and W. Schmid in Rohde's *Gr. Roman*,[3] p. 610.

Richard Heinze has attempted to explain this difference on the theory that the *Satyricon* was written as a deliberate parody upon the Greek romance.[1] Most critics will admit that the *Satyricon* does contain parody on romantic love, but that this parody was the dominating motif and *raison d'être* of the entire romance is by no means clear. The parody is too poorly sustained. It appears to be merely incidental. In such a work as Heinze assumes the *Satyricon* to be, the long episode of Trimalchio's dinner would be quite out of place. Then, too, we find parody on the epic as well as on the romance. Encolpius more than once compares himself to Ulysses and, like the Homeric hero, he, too, is pursued over land and sea by the wrath of a deity, in this case Priapus. But the authors of genuine parodies, such as Lucian's *True History*, or the *Battle of the Frogs and Mice*, never leave us in doubt about the thing parodied. From beginning to end, the tendency is everywhere obvious and the parallelism in technique and motivation carefully sustained. Of course it is difficult to say just what constitutes parody. It is easy to agree with Heinze in general when he says that the *Satyricon* stands in about the same relation to the serious Greek romance that comedy or satyr-drama does to tragedy. In both cases we observe a sort of reaction. But it is hard to believe that the parallelism between the two romances was so close as between the two kinds of drama, or that in either case the origin of the comic type is to be explained as due to intentional parody. The *Satyricon* is to the Greek romance no more than what *Gil Blas* or *Lazarillo de Tormes* are to the romance of chivalry.

The most recent writer on this subject is Professor C. W. Mendell (*loc. cit.*). Mendell rejects the theory of a deliberate parody and, regarding the machinery of the plot in the *Satyricon* as its most essential element, maintains that Petronius' work represents merely an advanced stage in the development of the serious erotic novel. He thus fails to account for the burlesque and unmoral tendency except in so far as it may be due to the influence of satire and the sophisticated age and surroundings in which the Roman writer lived. To this it may be objected that, besides the inherent improbability of any literary type radically changing its primary tone and

[1] *Hermes*, XXXIV (1899), 494–519.

tendency except by parody, there is no evidence that such a transition took place, unless it was due entirely to the wilful invention of Petronius. The latest of the Greek erotic romances written long after Petronius are quite as idealized and as serious as the earliest. They show no tendency whatever to replace heroes with anti-heroes, as Petronius has done, nor to change the serious tone to the comic. As ancient comedy appears to have sprung from a different type of origin from that of tragedy, and as both types remained distinct throughout antiquity and characterized by a different tone and tendency, so, I believe, the comic unmoral novel, though formally influenced by the conventions of the serious romance, must have been comic or at least realistic at the start.

The history of the novel in later times would suggest this. The humorous, realistic, and somewhat unmoral history of the roguish Gil Blas, though less exaggerated, is fundamentally the same kind of story as the *Satyricon*. Yet its origins are not to be sought in the serious romance of chivalry but directly in the rogue stories of Spain, such as that of *Lazarillo de Tormes*. And these rogue stories themselves, if they did not, as seems most probable,[1] result from the grouping about one character of numerous stock tricks and *facetiae*, at least did not grow out of the serious romances.

But to return to Petronius. The question as to whether or not the *Satyricon* was preceded by other romances of a burlesque or realistic or picaresque nature has generally taken the form of a dispute as to whether the lost *Milesiaka* of one Aristides, translated by Sisenna, was a collection of stories or a continuous romance like that of Petronius.[2] The question is at least an open one; but since the ancient *testimonia* are quite ambiguous on this point, we shall do better, I think, to leave Aristides out of the reckoning altogether and to admit that, so far as explicit testimony goes, we cannot be absolutely sure of the

[1] See Chandler, *Romances of Roguery*, pp. 6 ff.

[2] For the views of the leading disputants on this subject see the summary of Rosenblüth, *op. cit.*, pp. 87–90. The most important ancient testimony is to be found in the following passages: Ovid, *Trist.* ii. 413–14; *ibid.* 443–44; Ps. Lucian, *Amores* 1; Plutarch, *Crassus* 32. From these passages, and from a few very meager fragments, the most that can be inferred with certainty about the Μιλησιακά is that they were obscene and partly at least in prose. That they *may* have been partly in verse also has been inferred by Norden (*Antike Kunstprosa*, II, 756) from the words *nocte vagatrix* quoted by the grammarian Charisius from Sisenna's translation. The plural title may mean no more than it does in Lucian's Ἀληθῆ διηγήματα, or in the Αἰθιοπικά of Heliodorus.

existence of any comic romance prior to the time of Petronius. But lack of *testimonia* in the field of ancient fiction means very little; and it would not be at all surprising if many comic romances, of which we now have no knowledge, were in circulation in the days of Petronius.[1] When I say "comic romance" I do not mean a romance resembling the *Satyricon* in all its wealth of realistic tableaux and numerous side shows, but rather a straightforward story of manifold adventure related chiefly for the sake of the fun and in the spirit of burlesque. That such a romance existed in Greek before the time of Petronius appears to me to be extremely probable, and it is only when we make this assumption that the origin and peculiarities of the *Satyricon* can be explained satisfactorily and in accord with the facts and tendencies of ancient literary history.

We know that a comic romance did actually evolve in Greek literature. The Λούκιος ἢ Ὄνος of Lucian, familiarly known through Apuleius' interpolated version as the story of the *Golden Ass*, is just

[1] The ancient literary critics evidently regarded this kind of writing as trivial and beneath their serious consideration. Hence they tend to ignore it. That it was popular, there can be no doubt (cf. Jerome in Bücheler's *Petronius*, p. 243); but it must have circulated rather among laymen than among men of literary profession. The novels of Petronius and Apuleius are mentioned occasionally by ancient writers, but generally in a tone of disparagement. Outside of Photius and Suidas, references to Greek romances are extremely rare and meager; and even in these encyclopedias you will look in vain for mention of Longus or Chariton, whose novels would be quite unheard of were it not for the survival of their manuscripts. Likewise, the two erotic novels mentioned by Suidas under the name of Xenophon (cf. *supra*) are apparently mentioned by no other ancient writer. Moreover, some of the ethnographical titles that have come down to us and are generally believed to refer to historical works, may in reality have been the titles of romances. Thus, if Suidas had not added that ἔστι δὲ τῶν πάνυ αἰσχρῶν we would assume that the Ῥοδιακά of Philip of Amphipolis was history; but the descriptive remarks of our lexicographer, and a casual reference in Theodorus Priscian (*Res Medicae*, 11), make it clear that the book was erotic fiction; and who knows but that it antedated Petronius? Along with Aristides, Ovid (*Trist.* ii. 415 ff.) mentions two other naughty books whose authors were not exiled:

Nec qui descripsit corrumpi semina matrum
Eubius, impurae conditor historiae
Nec qui composuit nuper Sybaritica fugit.

Either one of these books may have been a continuous romance like that of Petronius, and the term *historia* strongly suggests this; for the usage cf. Mendell, *op. cit.*, pp. 163–64; Propertius, ii. 1, 13–16; see also Bürger in *Hermes*, XXVII (1892), 354–55. That they were written in a humorous vein seems probable from the analogy of the stories of adultery in Apuleius, Petronius, and elsewhere.

Robert, *Hermes*, XXXVI (1901), 364 ff., believes that certain wall paintings found in the *casa Farnesina* at Rome represent scenes from a picaresque romance prior to Petronius. But in this, too, there is no certainty.

such a romance as I have in mind. The foundation on which it was built was a short folk-tale which related the transformation of a young man into an ass as a punishment for some folly or for some offense against the witches.[1] The author of the Ὄνος, or rather of its original,[2] has taken this simple situation and made it into a "romance" by giving it an introduction and a conclusion and by adding to the number of the experiences which the young man undergoes. The added experiences in this case were suggested partly by Aesopic fables and proverbs relating to the ass; but there is also, as in Petronius, obvious borrowing from the epic, the comedy, the erotic romance, and the mime.[3] Now the basic story of the *Satyricon* is

[1] K. Weinhold (*Sitzungsb. d. königl. Preuss. Acad. d. Wissen.* [1892], pp. 475 ff.) points out eight analogues to this story in the folklore of Europe and India. He summarizes as follows: *Das Urgeschichtchen mag so gelautet haben: ein junger Mann kommt mit Frauen in zu vertraute Beziehung, und wird zur Busse in einen Esel verwandelt, dem gewisse seiner Anlagen entsprechen. Nur sein Äusseres, nicht seine innere Natur wird von der Verwandlung betroffen. Er hat ein mühsames Leben zu führen, bis es ihm gelingt, die Kräuter zu geniessen, welche bestimmt sind, ihn zu entzaubern.* For other legends, less typical, to be sure, than those discussed by Weinhold, but dealing with the same theme, see the story of Peter the Huntsman, in Grimm's *Fairy Tales* and that of the rogue Ali of Cairo in the *Arabian Nights* (Burton's translation, VII, 197–99). Cf. also my dissertation, pp. 43 ff.

[2] The Ὄνος is an epitome of a longer work of the same nature entitled Μεταμορφώσεις and ascribed by Photius (*Bibl.* 129) to one Lucius of Patrae (the ass in the story). The real author of this lost original, however, was probably Lucian; cf. Perry, *op. cit.*, pp. 59 ff.

[3] For Aesopic motifs in the Ὄνος see Crusius in *Philologus*, XLVII (1888), 448. Epic parody and reminiscences are listed, though not exhaustively, by Neukamm, *De Luciano Asini Auctore* (Leipzig, 1914), pp. 92–93, who also points out the influence of comedy (pp. 94, 87–88). Several matters in the Ὄνος, such as the adventure with the robbers, their cave, their plans for torturing (chap. 25; cf. Xenophon of Ephesus iv. 6), the δαίμων βάσκανος (19), the resolve of Lucius to commit suicide rather than become a eunuch (33), the setting up of ἀναθήματα at the end (cf. Longus and Xenophon, *ad. fin.*), as well as occasional stylistic features (e.g., the soliloquies of Lucius in 5, 15, and 23; cf. Chariton vi. 6; Xenophon ii. 10, iii. 5; Heliodorus ii. 4; Achilles Tatius iii. 10) remind us of the erotic romance. For the mimic motifs in the Ὄνος compare chap. 51 with the statement of Suetonius in *Nero* 12 and Martial in *Liber Spect.* 5. See also Rosenblüth, *op. cit.*, p. 65 (top). In commenting on the boisterous theatrical element in Petronius, Preston (*loc. cit.*) observes that the humor of an incident is seldom left to make its own appeal to the reader, but "we are told that it provoked 'gales of laughter' or 'bursts' of applause." This is true of some passages in the Ὄνος; cf. μέγα καὶ ἥδιστον.—ἀνακαγχάσασα in 6; ἅμα ἐπιγελάσας and μέγα ἀναγελῶν, 10; ἑστῶς ἐγέλων (at his own sorry predicament) 15; καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐγέλων, 37; γέλως—πολὺς γίνεται, 38; πάντες ἄσβεστον ἐγέλων, 45; ἐγέλων ὁρῶντες, καὶ γέλως πολὺς ἦν, μέγα ἐν γέλωτι ἀναβοήσας, πολὺν εἶχεν ἐπ' εμοὶ γέλωτα, and τὸ δὲ συμπόσιον ἐκλονεῖτο τῷ γέλωτι, all in 47; τὴν ἐμαυτοῦ ἐν γέλωτι συμφοράν, 56. Note also the common stage device of watching events transpiring on the other side of a closed door through a chink or keyhole (*Satyricon* xxvi. 4, xcvi. 1, xcl. 11; Ὀνός chaps. 12, 47, and 52).

closely analogous, both in formation and tendency to the Ὄνος. It consists mainly in a series of comic episodes suggested by or taken bodily from various convenient sources, especially the mime, and related smoothly and, no doubt, as in the Ὄνος, with much originality and invention, as the experiences of one man.[1] Without reaching a climax such a story might be prolonged indefinitely. The only logical end would be the death of the protagonist or want of comic experiences to assign to him. The adventures of Encolpius were probably represented as the result of his having offended Priapus, while those of Lucius resulted from his own fatal curiosity about magic. In both cases the cause of the adventures serves as a loose framework on which the episodes are hung, and which gives them the only thread of unity they possess, apart from the biographical form. Other romances of the same type may have had a different framework. This framework merely supplies the want of a plot; and the fact that it differs in the two romances is no more significant than the fact that Plautus' *Menaechmi* turns on a different plot from that of his *Trinummus*.

Nor do I believe that the erotic element is any more essential. The pairing of Encolpius and Giton as lovers with Ascyltus as a foil appears to be merely a device for creating comic situations. Their mock love affair involves no sustained dramatic suspense as in the erotic romances properly so called, nor is the interest here, as there, at all psychological. Unlike the picturesque characters of serious romance, Encolpius and Lucius, as human souls, attract neither our interest nor our sympathy. They are far from being even clever rogues. They are merely the vehicles of burlesque. The primary and ever present purpose of both the *Satyricon* and the Ὄνος is simply to amuse the reader by the objective presentation of consecutive comic scenes. And herein the type is defined. So long as the epi-

[1] By this I do not mean to imply that there was ever any progress of development from collections of separate stories or *Schwänke* to novels like that of Petronius. This is the view of K. Bürger (*Studien zur Geschichte des griechischen Romans* [Erster Teil, 1902], pp. 20 ff.) and of Schissel von Fleschenberg (*Entwicklungsgeschichte des griechischen Romans* [Halle, 1913], pp. 3 ff.), who assume that Aristides' *Milesiaka* was some kind of a collection—*Rahmenerzählung*, according to Schissel—and that there was a tendency among writers of such collections to weld together the separate stories more closely so as to give them some inner unity, and that finally they came to be told smoothly as the experiences of one man. To me, this theory of development seems very improbable; cf. the remarks of W. Schmid in Rohde's *Gr. Roman*³, pp. 607 f.

sodes are presented for the sake of the fun, and not for love's sake or for the sake of realism, they may be either erotic or non-erotic, real or imaginary. Erotic scenes lend themselves very readily to burlesque, and it is for that reason no doubt that they figure so prominently; but their value is purely comic, and their importance no greater than that of numerous other burlesque scenes of a different nature.

Likewise, the presence or absence of realism in the primary situation seems unimportant. The difference between the Ὄνος and the *Satyricon* in this respect is merely a difference in the particular devices employed toward the same end, namely, to create a potentially comic situation or framework. Such matters of plot-technique, or choice of theme, are variable within the limits of universally recognized and well-defined literary genres. Aristophanes' *Peace* and his *Acharnians* are both comedies, and written for the same political purpose, though the former deals with a frankly impossible situation, and the latter with a situation within the range of possibility; so, too, with the *Amphitryo* of Plautus as compared with the other plays; and so with Horace's *Satires*. Without differing in what we call type, they may deal with either possibilities or impossibilities. The supernatural incidents in the Ὄνος are not told as such for their own sake, but in a spirit of burlesque, and they are strictly subordinate to the author's main purpose—comedy and amusement. As soon as Lucius becomes an ass his experiences are as realistic as those of Encolpius. Burlesque naturally adheres to the commonplace; but any device may be employed to support it.

Apart from the formation and purpose of the two stories of adventure, we note many other points of similarity. One of the most peculiar features of the Ὄνος, as of the *Satyricon*, consists in the absence of any moral personality in the leading characters. Outside the popular novella with which the Ὄνος is closely associated in origin, one looks in vain for this strange quality in almost any other form of ancient literature. The conventional rogue, or even the parasite, usually acts with some spiritual energy, and has some kind of self-respect; but the peculiar thing about Lucius and Encolpius is that they relate the most extravagant and ironical farces all at their own expense. Provided it be comic, there is no act or predicament,

however absurd or humiliating even to a rogue, to which they will not readily confess. The things that Lucius tells about himself, though humiliating, are generally less debasing than the experiences of the Roman Encolpius; but the tendency and the odd effect are exactly the same. In most narrative literature the episodes are adapted in some measure to suit the character, typical or individual, of the protagonists; but in the Ὄνος and in the *Satyricon* the episodes exist for their own sakes, and the persons who are made to enact them tend thereby to become mere puppets. Accordingly, Lucius and Encolpius are fictitious persons representative of contemporary society, as is usual in comedy; whereas, in the erotic romance the characters generally belong to history or local legend and their experiences, except in the latest of the romances, that of Achilles Tatius, are represented as taking place in a far-off past. It is probably mere coincidence that both Lucius and Encolpius are educated Romans, the former an author, the latter a rhetorician; but in the erotic novel, the characters are never either Roman or literary. The Ὄνος and the *Satyricon* are also alike in that they are both independent of the conventional geographical background of the erotic novels, for the latter rarely or never take us so far west as the home of Trimalchio, nor so far north on the mainland of Greece as the setting of the Ὄνος. Like the *Satyricon*, the Ὄνος has the autobiographical form, contains many comic reminiscences of the epic and the erotic romance, and also many similarities in the motives and situations. To enumerate these here would take too long, but I think I have made it clear that the basic story of the *Satyricon* is identical in type essentials with the story of Lucius.[1]

The question now arises, Was this type originated by Petronius and imitated, as scarcely any other Roman type was, by the Greeks, or did both representatives spring up independently? Neither of these suppositions seems at all plausible. In nearly every department of literature the Romans were inspired by Greek models. Why not here too? Is it not more likely that the first specimen of a comic romance was simple and straightforward like the Ὄνος, rather than a story like that of Petronius, which is imbedded, and

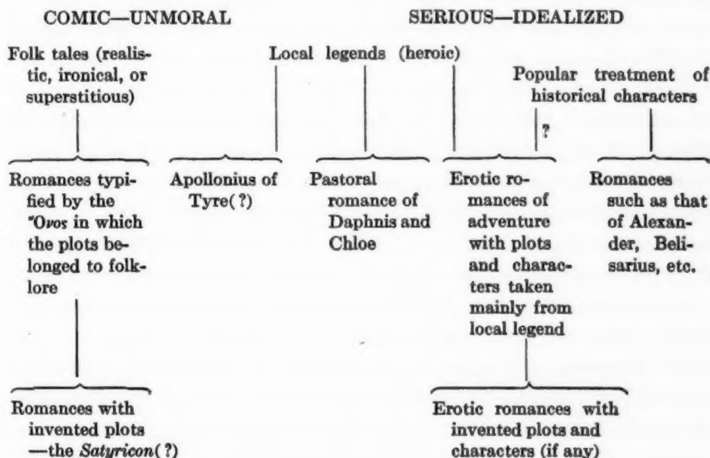
[1] This fact is recognized, though somewhat vaguely, by Bürger (*op. cit.*) and by Collignon (*Étude sur Pétrone*, p. 49), neither of whom has made an adequate and discriminating comparison.

almost lost, in a maze of digressions and embellishments of every sort? Petronius' work in sixteen books or more has every appearance of being a developed rather than a primitive (i.e., the first) specimen of the comic romance; and it is therefore very probable that the *Satyricon* was preceded by other comic romances of the more simple type, presumably in Greek.[1]

This sort of novel may have originated in the same way as the Ὄνος, that is, from the expansion of popular tales that were either ironical or humorous at the start or *potentially* so by virtue of their subject-matter. A fairy tale of real intrinsic beauty is likely to retain its ideal character perennially; but a realistic tale, or a naïvely superstitious one, however serious it may be at the start, owing to its essentially homely character, is apt to become ironical or burlesque as society becomes more sophisticated. One may see this process at work in Apuleius' tale of Socrates and Aristomenes (*Met.* i. 5–20). It is true that not many of these popular tales were likely to become expanded into "romances," because the single incident with which they usually dealt often afforded no good framework for further episodes. But when fancy has once changed a man into an ass, nothing is more natural than that his recorded experiences in that form should be augmented, not indeed by popular repetition—for in a novella of this sort where the protagonist is variable and of no personal importance or identity there can be no popular biographical interest—but by the conscious literary effort of a writer already familiar with the *Odyssey* and with the serious prose romances. Besides the ass-story we may imagine others equally capable of expansion. The clever thief who stole from the treasure-house of Rhamsinitus (*Hdt.* ii. 121) is waging a war of wits with the king until such time as the latter pardons him. The situation here provides a natural framework into which any number of episodes might be worked without any organic readjustment. The difference between a story of this kind and the Ὄνος is purely quantitative and artistic. We call the former a novella instead of a romance because it is popular rather

[1] Cf. the remarks of Leo, *Die Kultur der Gegenwart*, Teil I, Abt. 8 (Leipzig, 1912), p. 459: *Die Form des Schelmenromans, die das Buch hatte, war gewiss in den Unterschichten der griechischen Litteratur vorhanden; was solche Produktion wert ist das hängt ganz von der Persönlichkeit ab, die das Ihrige in die Form hineinlegt.* Wilamowitz (*op. cit.*, p. 190) is of the same opinion.

than literary and because it contains fewer episodes; but the two types are structurally identical and spiritually very closely akin. Since the gap between them is very slight, it may well have been bridged by writers who lived before the time of Petronius. Such a development is more to be expected in an age that witnessed the elaboration of the mime, the new comedy, and the serious bourgeoise romance, and in which the realistic novella emerged from oral tradition into literature, than in the later and much less creative period of the second century A.D. (date of the Ὄνος). After a few novels had been written on the basis of folklore plots, it would be very easy for any writer to create a plot of his own on the same simple principles, and this is probably what Petronius has done, possibly others before him.[1]



But there is more to account for in Petronius than the basic story. What shall we say of the poetry, the declamations, the inserted *fabulae*, and the vivid and detailed representations of scenes from real life? I believe most of this is to be strictly Roman and to have originated with Petronius. The practice of dressing up Greek

[1] The principal stages in the development of ancient romance, according to the writer's view, may be represented graphically somewhat as follows (for the serious romance, cf. Lavagnini, *op. cit.*):

models with various embellishments and digressions and of departing more or less from their conventional standards in form and range of content was apparently not uncommon among Roman writers. They wanted to contribute something original. Their attitude is somewhat typified by that of Phaedrus as expressed in the Prologue of his second book (l. 8): *equidem omni cura morem servabo senis (Aesopi)* | *sed si libuerit aliquid interponere,* | *dictorum sensus ut delectet varietas,* | *bonas in partes, lector, accipias velim;* and at the beginning of the third book (l. 38): *ego porro illius semita feci viam* | *et cogitavi plura quam reliquerat;* and his fifth book professes to be entirely original. Likewise, Ovid's *Metamorphoses,* though based in large part on Greek collections of myths, is undoubtedly original in respect to its *Rahmenerzählung,* which cannot be paralleled in Greek, and to its mixture of epic, lyric, historical, and philosophical passages. These combinations and the arts by which the various myths are formally strung together may be accredited to the invention of the Roman artist himself. If we bear in mind the great amount of heterogeneous matter that Apuleius in his *Metamorphoses* has crowded into the framework of the straightforward Greek story of Lucius, we shall have no need to wonder at the discursiveness of Petronius nor at his apparent aberrations from the norm of his Greek predecessors. The two Roman writers have treated their Greek models in almost exactly the same manner. Let us consider the various features separately.

Petronius differs from the Ὄνος and from Greek writers generally in the degree of realism he employs. By "realism" I mean the concrete, detailed, and vivid representation of scenes from ordinary or low life, often described for their own artistic value. We meet with some of this realism in the Greek comedy, in Greek mimes, and elsewhere; but on the whole it is less vivid and more incidental. Greek writers are likely to make less of it than the Romans.[1] At any rate, this is the case in the story of Lucius; for the Latin version of Apuleius contains many a graphic sketch of persons and things which, in the Greek version, were alluded to in more general terms

[1] Cf. the interesting remarks of F. A. Wright, *AJP*, XLII, 169: "The habit which the Roman poets have of working up a long passage from a few lines in some Greek original by the addition of a mass of realistic details deserves more study than it has yet received." He cites several examples from the works of Vergil, Ovid, and Horace.

or briefly dismissed.[1] It is probable, therefore, that the extreme realism of Petronius is Roman; and that just as the Romans never, so far as we know, developed an idealized romance, so probably the Greeks never had a truly realistic one, that is, realistic in the same degree as Petronius. The realism in the Ὄνος, which I assume to be more or less typical of that of the lost novels of the same type, is purely incidental to the narrative; whereas in Apuleius and in Petronius it is often paraded for its independent value; cf. *Met.* ix. 12–13; and the description of Trimalchio's dinner.

That which has been said of the difference in point of realism between the Roman and Greek novels applies also to character-drawing; for the characters in Apuleius, as well as in Petronius, are described far more vividly and realistically than they are in the Ὄνος or in any other Greek romance. Since Apuleius has made a great advance in this respect over his Greek original, it is easy to believe that Petronius has done likewise.

Along with concreteness we observe greater obscenity, and more of it in Petronius than in the Ὄνος, or, in fact, in any known Greek work. The Greek tends to keep it subordinate, the Roman to give it greater prominence, and often to make it coarser by representing it more concretely. This again could be amply illustrated from Apuleius, to say nothing of Catullus and Martial in contrast with the Greek *Anthology* (quantitatively and qualitatively).

Another feature worth mentioning is the insertion of short stories more or less independent of the plot. Such stories are those about the werwolf, the matron of Ephesus, and that of Eumolpus in chapters 85–87. Apuleius has inserted seventeen or more such independent stories into his translation of the Greek Luciad, and Ovid tells us that Sisenna added *ioci* to his translation of Aristides. These *ioci*, as Professor Mendell observes, may have been short stories; but in any case it is important to note that Sisenna did add some embellishments of his own, and that it is only in the Roman novels, never in the Greek, that independent stories are inserted.

The long poems on the fall of Troy and on the Civil War, respec-

[1] A fuller discussion of the various phases of Apuleius' originality in the *Metamorphoses* will be found in an article of mine which appears in *TAPA*, LIV. 196 ff.

tively, and the lengthy discussions of literature and art, interrupt the progress of the main narrative and are introduced chiefly for their intrinsic interest. At first thought, it would seem difficult to parallel this sort of procedure elsewhere, but here again a comparison with Apuleius proves instructive. Apuleius does not indeed introduce long poems, doubtless because he was less interested in poetry than Petronius; but he does introduce philosophical digressions and ornate descriptions, and these, like the digressions of Petronius, stand apart as artistic units, treated for their own sake and retarding the narrative. The difference in nature or length between the separate artistic entertainments of Petronius and those of Apuleius are due only to individual taste. Petronius as *arbiter elegantiae* at Nero's court was interested in literary criticism and matters of taste. It is not surprising, therefore, that he felt the challenge of Lucan's *Pharsalia* and was tempted to imitate or rival or parody that poem in his *Civil War*. Apuleius, on the other hand, being more interested in his prose style, exercises his talent in describing the house of Byrrhena, or the robber's cave, or in writing an essay on the beauty of human hair, or describing in ornate prose the ceremonies in the worship of Isis and Osiris, all of which he has added of his own accord to the Greek original, and which are unessential to the story. Likewise, the shorter poems in the *Satyricon* rarely advance the action, but, like the others, seem to be introduced for their independent interest. Sometimes, of course, they illustrate a point in the text, or a situation, quite effectively and humorously, but they seem to be added for the sake of embellishment rather than as a matter of form. Many of them are of surprising beauty and stand in the same odd contrast to their coarse surroundings as do the artistic effusions of Apuleius.

When Apuleius puts the beautiful story of Cupid and Psyche into the mouth of a villainous old hag, he is doing the same sort of thing that Petronius does when he puts elegant criticism into the mouth of Eumolpus. As a mystic, Apuleius is induced to leave out the original burlesque ending of the ass-story, and to substitute therefor a twenty-five-page chapter describing in a solemn, religious tone the majesty of Isis and Osiris. As a platonic philosopher and a Carthaginian senator, he puts into the mouth of Lucius a page of denunciation against corrupt judges and an eloquent eulogy of Socrates, but

at the end he remarks: "Behold, shall we suffer an ass to philosophize? I return whence I left off, to the main story" (*Met.* x. 33). In the same way, Petronius has allowed his degenerates to philosophize on literature and art, or in fact on any of the numerous subjects in which he is interested, and which may add to the reader's entertainment.

These embellishments probably do not belong to the comic, unmoral novel as a Greek type but are added in accordance with the fancy of the individual Roman writer; and this in turn will be qualified by the age in which the author lives and its cultural and literary background. Much of the subject-matter of Petronius, as well as the discursive nature of his writing and his love of variety, shows the influence of Roman satirè; but it is not as a moralist that the *arbiter elegantiae* is interested in society but as an entertainer.

To sum up, I believe that the basic story of the *Satyricon* was patterned after, or at any rate preceded by, some straightforward comic narrative like the *Ὄνος*; and that the criticism of art and literature, the poetry, the character-drawing, and the realistic tableaux are due to the originality of Petronius.

UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS

ON THE 1508 ALDINE PLINY

By Blanche B. Boyer and Alfred P. Dorjahn

Professor E. T. Merrill, in his recent note[1] with reference to Professor E. K. Rand's suggested explanation[2] of the origin of the reading *agere* in an Aldine copy of the 1508 edition of Pliny's *Letters*, signified his intention of transferring the matter of a collation of the available copies of *agere*- and *facere*-texts of 1508 and of the text of 1518, and the study of such evidence as might be forthcoming, to the hands of two former participants in his Seminar in Pliny's *Letters*. These students have now completed a collation of available copies[3] of both editions and set forth, in the following, the results of their investigation, which have further bearing upon the points raised by Professor Rand.

The suggestion has been made by Professor Rand that the examples of the *agere*-text, which bear the date of 1508, may, in reality, be copies of the 1518 edition, but for some mysterious reason (or by error) predated. As a necessary condition to the validity of this suggestion, Professor Rand saw that the size of type space of these singular copies ought to agree with that of all the other copies of the 1518 edition, which clearly differs in such measurement from the 1508 edition. But he did not mention an equally obvious consideration, that under the postulated conditions the *agere*-text of 1508 should agree in general with the text of 1518 where that disagrees with the *facere*-text of 1508.

It is our purpose, therefore, in this discussion to determine (1) whether all copies bearing the date 1508 are impressions of the same edition and, if so, (2) whether they represent separate printings

[1] *Class. Phil.*, XIX, 75.

[2] *Ibid.*, XVIII, 348–50.

[3] These are: (1) two copies of the 1508 edition, in the University of Chicago Libraries, reading *facere;* (2) one copy of the 1508 edition, in the possession of Professor E. T. Merrill, reading *agere;* (3) two copies of the 1518 edition, one in the University of Chicago Libraries, and one in the possession of Professor Merrill, reading *agere*, as also do the Harvard copy and the Morgan copy, according to report by Professor Rand.

rather than a single printing during the course of which the press was stopped to permit of certain changes, and, if so, what was the number and order of these separate printings, (3) what accounts for the difference in the readings *facere* and *agere* and which was the original, (4) what significance such variation has in a given Aldine edition.

1. From our collation of the *agere*- and *facere*-texts of 1508, abundant evidence has been assembled to show that these two impressions belong to the same edition; that the *agere*-text does not represent a case of predating, an absurd practice, indeed, if it ever existed. Professor Merrill[1] has called attention to the fact that Professor Rand's allusion to an edition of Vergil, dated 1514 but printed 1519, does not furnish a true parallel to such alleged procedure. Moreover, in the *agere*-text of 1508, there is a considerable array of obvious errors in common with the *facere*-text of the same dating, while these errors are corrected in the 1518 edition, as shown by the appended list of readings. The common reading of the *agere*- and *facere*-texts of 1508 precedes the bracket, that of the 1518 edition follows (page and line are given here, as elsewhere in this paper, unless otherwise specified, according to Professor Merrill's critical edition, Teubner, 1922).

11.10. corfirmaturum/confirmatorum
26.9. numum/numûm (also 70.6; 148.15; 167.15; 190.18)
36.3. creareturr/crearetur
44.21. oices/dices
47.6. quatuor/quattuor
55.5. (*alt. loc.*) porti cum/porticum
56.18. vinca tenera/vinea tenera
66.11. audi et/audiet
69.9. nullun/nullum
78.24. literam/litteram
109.24. Secundun/Secundum
86.17. ũ/tũ (in each copy dated 1508 stands a blot above the line to the left of *ũ*)
95.18. vercundia/verecundia
101.1. incaestum/incestum
101.9. incaesti/incesti
101.10. incaesto/incesto

[1] *Op. cit.*, XIX, 1.

101.14. incaestā/incestam
114.6. tranquilitatis/tranquillitatis
114.20. docimento/documento
144.14. utranque/utramque
154.16. nullarun/nullarum
154.28. senatu consultum/senatus consultum
160.21. caussam/causam
172.17. Poylcletus/Polycletus
181.15. clarissina/clarissima
188.7. simuul/simul
191.5. cogunter/coguntur
203.21. laetior a/laetiora
208.17. mulla/nulla
211.7. oruatus/ornatus
213.23. simiillimum/simillimum
216.18. menifestum/manifestum
237.14. manifessimi/manifestissimi
239.7. tinebris/tenebris
268.5. volc̄tibus/volētibus
271.16. deccem/decem
273.30. militar i/militari
294.20. Agusti/Augusti
295.14. postulatiotinum/postulationum

If further proof of the relationship of the *agere*- to the *facere*-text is deemed necessary, it may be found in errors of pagination, common to both, as noted in the following table:

I	II	III	IV	V	VI
46	47	47	47	47	47
47	46	46	46	46	46
119	129	129	129	119	119
160	161	160	160	160	160
206	106	106	106	206	206
210	120	120	120	210	210
226	194	194	194	226	226
245	24	24	245	245	245
250	218	218	218	250	250
254	222	222	222	254	254
258	158	158	158	158	158
277	247	247	247	277	277
288	288	256	288	256	256
313	313	313	313	813	813

Column I contains the correct page numbering of the Aldine editions of Pliny's *Letters;* II, the pagination of 1508 *facere*-text in the University of Chicago Libraries, accession number 289382; III, the pagination of 1508 *facere*-text in the University of Chicago Libraries, accession number 282180; IV, the pagination of 1508 *agere*-text in the possession of Professor E. T. Merrill; V, the pagination of 1518 edition in the University of Chicago Libraries, accession number 289381; VI, the pagination of 1518 edition in the possession of Professor E. T. Merrill.

This collation is complete. It shows—if the columns have any significance at all—that the *agere*-text (the pagination of which is represented by column IV) is a copy of the 1508 edition or a mere variant from it. A further factor bearing on this matter is the fact that the three texts dated 1508 have on page 105 the book number III, in place of IV, the correct numbering which is displayed by both copies of the 1518 edition. It will be observed that a few errors, found in all three copies of the first edition, recur in the second.[1] This fact may be explained on the assumption that not all the errors were corrected in that particular book which served as the printer's copy for the new edition. This state of affairs appears to cast a somewhat unfavorable light upon the editorial methods that prevailed in the Aldine establishment. One independent error, it may be noted, occurs in both copies of the second edition: page 313 is numbered 813.

It is a well-known fact that the 1518 Aldine edition of Pliny's *Letters* differs little from the text of the 1508 edition, apart from several corrections of obvious misprints, a few conjectural emendations, and compression of type in the printing. But these slight changes are rather more numerous and varied than has been generally conceived. Apropos of the appearance of the printed page, it is apparent from a comparison of the two editions that the second was set up, at least to some extent, from different type; its type was not simply compressed as compared with that of the 1508 copies. For example, in the case of *s* and *g*, the 1518 edition often exhibits a round *s* where the earlier edition has a tall letter and a *g* with longer shaft than that in the 1508 copies. Moreover, contrary to natural supposition, there is not precise agreement between the two editions in the setting up of type, line for line, but there is agreement *inter se* of the three 1508 copies and of the two 1518 copies. Compare the following parallel lines of 1508 and 1518:

[1] These errors are not limited to the paging, as the following examples show (Aldus' paging):

55. *tenera et*
66. *conturbernium*
80. *costantiam*
208. catchword for *tulit* is *praetulit*
326. *temen*

a) 1508 IV. 28 Aldus, page 123	1518
aesti/mat.............imagines	aesti/mat.....................mu
municipium..........Titi	nicipium...............Titi
Cassi..............exscri	Cassii................exscri
bēdas...............potis	bēdas................potissi
simū..........amicissime	mum...............amicissi
obsequeris.........reverē	me.....................re
tia...............patriam	verētia...............patriā
tuam.	tuam.
imi/tationis.............elege-	imi/tationis..................ele-
ris	geris

b) 1508 V. 6 Aldus, page 137	1518
vi/tis..........et ascendit. Nō	vi/tis................et ascendit.
secus...........tantum tan-	Non secus.............tantum
quam..............nascitur	tanquā..................nasci-
simul................sedi-	tur.....................sedi
lia	lia

c) 1508 VI. 24 Aldus, page 177	1518
praecipita/vit.............cir-	praecipita/vit...............circa
ca...........uxor ut	velanda.......uxor ut in
inspiceret........iudi	spiceret..........iudica-
caturum	turum

Another point in proof of the relationship of the *facere*- and *agere*-texts of 1508 is the occurrence in each of them, at the close of Books I and II, of the word "FINIS," which is entirely missing in the two copies dated 1518. Also the initials "C. PL" found in the lower right-hand corner of page 96 (Aldine pagination) in the three copies of 1508 are not present in either of the 1518 copies.

The difference between the two editions is further emphasized by independent mistakes on the part of the second other than the error of pagination pointed out above. An interesting case occurs in lines 27, 28, 29, of page 251, in the Aldine texts with the word *altera* in the following passage: *Altera imposita saxis more Baiano lacum prospicit, altera aequae more Baiano lacum tangit.* The disposition of lines in the two editions is shown here in parallel columns.

1508 *agere*- and *facere*-texts	1518
..........................alte	...........................alte
tera.........................a-	ra........................alte-
tera.........................	tera ....

Again, the substitution of *tui* for *cui* (11.11), the erroneous division of *numerare arbusculas* (34.12) into *numerar earbusculas*, and of *paciscor* (80.26) into *pacis cor*, the misspelling of *verūetiē* (74.2) as *veūentiā*, of *opportune* (82.18) as *oppurtune*, of *confirmata* (83.15) as *corfirmata*, errors which are peculiar to the 1518 copies, are proof of the independence of the copies of 1508 and those of 1518.

Likewise, in the matter of measurement of text space, there is general agreement, though not identity, in the *agere*- and *facere*-texts of the 1508 edition. Professor Rand[1] has stated that the average measurements of a page of text in the Harvard copy of the 1518 edition are $4\frac{9}{16}$ inches×$2\frac{7}{16}$ inches, whereas those of the Harvard copy of 1508 are $4\frac{5}{8}$ inches×$2\frac{9}{16}$ inches. In our examination we have found that the width of pages rarely varies from these figures, but there is frequent variation, to the extent of $\frac{1}{8}$ inch in the height of pages in both editions. Agreement exists, in the main, between the *facere*- and *agere*-texts of 1508. This fact, apart from all other considerations, suffices to establish the impossibility that the *agere*-texts of Keil and Professor Merrill were, in reality, copies of the second edition, bearing the earlier date by some chance or strange intent.

But, in the 1508 copies at hand, there exist some discrepancies in the spacing of words and of individual letters, wherefrom results a variation in the length of certain lines. An example is seen on page 150 (Aldus' pagination) in the words *(san)/guinem reiecit*, at the beginning of the line. In one copy of the *facere*-text (University of Chicago Libraries, 289382) the whole line measures 6.6 cm., of which space the two words occupy 1.8 cm., including an interval of .15 cm. between the two. In the word *(san)/guinem*, *g* is separated from the following *u* by .15 cm., an unusual distance, save in the separation of whole words. In the other *facere*-text (University of Chicago Libraries, 282180) the words *(san)/guinem reiecit* cover 1.85 cm. in a line whose total length is 6.65 cm., slightly longer than the same line in *facere*-text 289382. Here again is a space of .15 cm. between the final *m* of *(san)/guinem* and the initial *r* of *reiecit*. But there is an equal space separating that final *m* from the *e* which should immediately precede it, and there is no unusual interval between *g* and

[1] *Loc. cit.*

u as in the *facere*-text 289382. The *agere*-text shows the same isolation of *m*, which is removed .15 cm. from the preceding *e* and the following *r;* the entire line occupies 6.65 cm., as in *facere*-text 282180. Of this space, 1.8 cm. is given over to these two words. There is, then, within the available copies of 1508 a noticeable difference in the appearance of this phrase.

By contrast with this state of things, in the 1518 edition, the letters (*san*)/*guinem reiecit* are uniformly spaced. There is the same space of .15 cm. between the two words, though the total length of line is 6.65 cm., of which space the two words occupy 1.65 cm.

Again, on page 209 (Aldus' pagination) occurs the word *beatamque*, with *que* in abbreviated form. In all three 1508 texts the word extends over 1.2 cm. In *facere*-text 289382, the letters *b*, *e*, *a*, are generously spaced, but there is no corresponding space between *a* and *t*, while the abbreviation for *que* is separated from the word by .1 cm. In *facere*-text 282180 and in the *agere*-text of 1508, the letters *b*, *e*, *a*, are spaced as in *facere*-text 289382, but an unusual interval separates *a* and *t* while there is no separation of the abbreviation for *que* from the final *m*.

In the 1518 copies, moreover, as in the case of (*san*)/*guinem reiecit*, no such irregularities appear in this instance. The letters of *beatamque* are uniformly spaced in a total space of 1.1 cm.

With regard to the words *perquam iucunda* in the last line on page 154 (Aldus' pagination) there is agreement between *facere*-text 282180 and the *agere*-text of 1508 in spacing of letters. The two words are written together but the final *a* of *iucunda* is separated from that word by a space of .1 cm., whereas in *facere*-text 289382 there is no such separation of final *a* but the two words are otherwise as in 282180, while in the 1518 copies the two are correctly separated and spaced.

2. Such variation in the 1508 edition as is noted above is in keeping with the theory of separate impressions, though it does not of itself furnish conclusive evidence. It is easily conceivable that precisely this irregular spacing of letters should result from a loosely set up line of type which was not corrected with care while a single printing was in progress. There is, however, with reference to separate impres-

sions evidence of more positive nature in the divergent readings within the *facere-* and *agere*-texts of 1508.

A complete collation of Professor E. T. Merrill's copy of the *agere*-text with *facere*-text 282180 reveals the following three instances of variant readings (*facere*-readings precede the brackets, the *agere*-readings follow. *Facere*-readings [1] and [2] are common to both *facere*-texts, [3] is peculiar to *facere*-text 282180):

1. Book II.	17.26	Aldus' paging 57	nutritoria/meritoria
2. Book III.	1.9	Aldus' paging 64	facere/agere
3. Book X.	9.1	Aldus' paging 285	suffecesset/suffecisset

In every case the second edition—at least those two copies of that edition available for this collation—agrees with the *agere*-text of the first edition.

Yet in the first double reading cited (*nutritoria-meritoria*) there is evidence that the *agere*-text of 1508 is related to the *facere*-texts of the same date, rather than to the *agere*-text of 1518. The general appearance of the whole line is such as to indicate clearly the independence of the two editions; for, in the three copies dated 1508 there is extra spacing—the width of a single letter—at the end of the line, while in the two copies of 1518 there is not such interval at the end of the line, but there is a double interval after *discernit*, the third word of the line.

With reference to the *facere-agere*-reading, Professor Rand[1] has remarked that the 1508 *agere*-text should present a peculiar looseness of line (p. 64, l. 13), if the reading *agere* resulted from an original *facere*, by a process involving first the loss of *f* and subsequently the change of *c* to *g*. But in this text the line is not characterized by any striking degree of looseness, certainly not by a looseness sufficient to warrant the assumption of the loss of a letter. Though the word *facere* contains one letter more than *agere*, yet the two words occupy an equal amount of space in the Aldine texts under discussion, owing to the use of ligatures (*fa* and *ce*) in *facere*.[2] Actual measurements disclose the following: *eadem facere* and *eadem agere* in the 1508

[1] *Op. cit.*, p. 348.

[2] Other examples of the ligature *ce* may be seen on the next page (65) of the Aldus texts: *voces, necesse.*

texts, including the mark of punctuation after *facere* or *agere*, occupy in each 1.8 cm.; *eadem* in each case, .8 cm., space between the words, .2 cm.; *agere* and *facere*, .7 cm., respectively; comma, .1 cm. In the 1518 edition *eadem agere* and comma take up 1.7 cm., of which space .75 cm. are given to *eadem*, .2 cm. to the separation of words, .65 cm. to *agere*, and .1 cm. to the punctuation mark which follows.

The third instance of divergence, *suffecisset-suffecesset*, is important, in that it reveals a discrepancy within the two *facere*-texts and thereby supports the theory of separate impressions in 1508. *Facere*-text 282180 reads *suffecesset; facere*-text 289382 reads *suffecisset;* the 1508 *agere*-impression and the two copies of 1518 read *suffecisset* with *facere*-text 282180.

From the evidence that has been presented, with reference to pagination, spacing of words, and readings, it is clear that there were at least three impressions of the 1508 Aldine Pliny. Thus Professor Merrill's surmise,[1] that there may have been more than two impressions, has been substantiated. How many more there may have been cannot be determined from the limited evidence at hand. We have in mind to ascertain from public and well-known private libraries what Aldine texts of Pliny's *Letters* are in their possession and whether the reading of the 1508 copies is *facere* or *agere*, in order to make some sort of probable guess at the relative size of these two impressions. As yet there has been no time for what may prove a fruitless inquiry. We should judge—as things stand—that the *facere*-texts far outnumber the *agere*-texts of the same year, although it chanced that both Keil and, later, Professor Merrill happened upon *agere*-copies of 1508.

As regards the relative order of these impressions dated 1508, Professor Merrill remarked in passing:

> We evidently have to do with what was to me (and to the expert Mr. Voynich, whom I have consulted) an unexpected phenomenon in an issue of Aldus, two printings of the same edition with the same colophon, and no manifest way to determine which was the earlier.[2]

We believe it reasonable in the light of evidence here presented to conclude that the *facere*-text was earlier than the *agere*-text of 1508.

[1] *Op. cit.*, XVIII, 68.

[2] *Ibid.*

Facere seems to have been the original reading of the first Aldine edition of the *Letters*. All extant MSS have it and so do the early editions (for the reading of those early editions not available at the University of Chicago, Keil's critical apparatus is relied upon). Furthermore, the *facere*-texts show an error of pagination (24 for 245) and of reading (*nutritoria* for *meritoria*),[1] both of which errors are corrected in the 1508 *agere*-impression and in the 1518 edition. Of the two *facere*-texts at hand, it is possible that 282180, reading *suffecesset* and having page 288 wrongly numbered 256, is the earlier, and that the erroneous pagination of page 288 as 256 in the 1518 copies is an independent mistake and mere coincidence. On the other hand, it is not impossible that this represents a later printing than *facere*-text 289382 (wherein *suffecisset* and page 288 are correct), and that it in turn was supplanted by another impression, of which no known representative has come down to our day, wherein *suffecesset* was corrected, where *facere* was replaced by *agere*, but where the wrong pagination of 288 was as yet unnoticed. It was, then, an *agere*-copy—but not the last *agere*-impression of 1508 which served as the printer's copy for the 1518 edition.

3. How did *agere* enter into the 1508 text, with a correct *facere* in its predecessors, and how was it that *agere* continued to be printed in the 1518 edition, though it stood in no manuscripts or early editions save Aldus' own dated 1508?

If *agere* had been the original reading of the 1508 edition, it would require no great stretch of imagination to understand how it had found its way into the text and had been replaced later by *facere*. *Agere*, an exact synonym of *facere* in this instance, could be explained as an unconscious substitution on the part of the typesetter. Then in the course of printing, by some mere chance (for the many errors found in all available copies of the first edition do not allow the assumption of a complete collation), the unwarranted *agere* might have been discovered and replaced by *facere*, the reading of all extant MSS and early editions. The evidence assembled in this paper,

[1] *Meritoria* is universally the reading of MSS and early editions except Beroaldus (2d ed.), 1501, which reads *memoria*, and these two *facere*-texts. If the reading *nutritoria* be an emendation on the part of Aldus, it may still be classed as an error, for it is evident that Aldus himself later conceded the MS reading to be preferable.

however, points clearly to *facere* as the original reading. It is obvious, indeed, that no sane printer would under any possible circumstances arbitrarily remove a correct *facere* and substitute *agere*. Precisely how *facere* disappeared from the text we *tirones* cannot attempt to say. If that problem can be settled, it is a task for veteran scholars to undertake. All that can be said with certainty is that *facere* disappeared and made room for *agere*. Professor Rand's suggested explanation, that *agere* resulted from *facere* by a process involving first the loss of *f* and then a change of *g* and *c*, is attended by grave difficulties. In the first place, as Professor Merrill[1] has pointed out, if the printer had observed a looseness of type, he would have been prompted to look for a missing letter. The point is that if the loose condition of the type indicated (as one would think it must have indicated) that a letter had been extracted, of course the typesetter would look for, or think of, a letter to insert, and would have no temptation, it would seem, to alter by changing a letter already in the form and then spacing fitly. Looseness of type in the line does not suggest the presence of a wrong letter, but the abstraction of a right letter. Furthermore, the looseness of line in the *agere*-text, postulated by Professor Rand, does not exist, according to the measurements of type space quoted above. The ligatures *fa* and *ce* in *facere* conserve space.

A somewhat less objectionable explanation of this matter might be found in the assumption of a wholly, or at least considerably, mutilated *facere*. In that event the printer, who plainly did not think it worth while to consult his copy or the sheets already struck off, would emend in any way to make sense of the passage and fill out somewhat the vacant space in the line. Under these circumstances he might hit upon *agere* as easily as upon *facere*. A further difficulty in the way of Professor Rand's postulated loss of *f*, and *f* only, is the fact that *fa* occur in ligature. It seems necessary, therefore, to assume at least a considerably mutilated *facere*.

In view of the scarcity of type in Aldus' day, it is not conceivable that in the printing of a single edition the press should be stopped for any considerable length of time with the type in the forms, either to allow a careful reading of the page proof and a correction of any

[1] *Op. cit.*, XIX, 76.

errors that might occur or for any other purpose. Whatever changes were made were of a chance nature. Many typographical errors remained uncorrected.

The persistence of this error, *agere* for *facere* in the 1518 edition (which is after all, not an absolutely new recension but practically a reprint) is due to the failure of a proofreader to note that at this point his copy (an *agere*-text of 1508, presumably one of the more recently issued but not the latest) varied from the earlier impressions of 1508 and from the MSS. One would hardly expect that a 1508 text should again be collated with any other books or the MSS. Rather some good proofreader probably went through the 1508 *agere*-text simply with a view toward picking up what are very evidently merely typographical errors. He may have noted one or two general things but, inasmuch as the error of *agere* for *facere* is not on the same plane with other errors that are corrected, since it makes perfect sense and is quite in accord with Pliny's usage where either word would do equally well, it was overlooked entirely.

Thus is disposed the evidence derived from a study of the double readings in the 1508 edition of Pliny's *Letters*. Each of the three copies examined represents a separate impression, the relative order of which we have tried to ascertain from the errors common to all and peculiar to each. How many more impressions there may have been cannot be said, but there were at least two *agere*-impressions, from one of which (not the one of which an example is that one belonging to Professor Merrill) was set up the text of the 1518 copies.

4. Whether we have to do here with a common or with a unique phenomenon is unknown. It has not hitherto been reckoned with in the publications of the Aldine Press, but there can be no doubt that henceforth, in view of these considerations, it behooves the student of Pliny's *Letters* (and of any other Aldine text as well?) to designate with care the particular copy from which he quotes.

CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

NOTES AND DISCUSSIONS

RECOVERY OF LEGAL COMPETENCY IN THE *XII TABLES*

I wish to show that this principle in one of its applications is to be found in *XII Tab.* i. 5 (Girard): *Nexi mancipiique forcti sanatique idem ius esto.* The fragment is preserved by Festus[1] in his explanation of *forcti* and *sanati*, an explanation which is still current.[2]

The *Sanates*, Festus thinks, were a people who lived in the vicinity of Rome—*supra infraque Romam*—and were so called because, having revolted, they had returned to their allegiance *quasi sanata mente.* The *Forctes* were the good who had never wavered in their fidelity to the Romans. The point is that t' se who had repented of their treason were to have the same rights of *nexum* and *mancipium* as those who had always been loyal.[3] A reference to these two classes which Festus assumes is supposed to be found in Dionysius ix. 5, where he speaks of the consul setting out with two legions, each raised in the city, and a no less numerous body sent by their subjects and allies. Also in x. 57, Dionysius refers to the Decemvirs, who took cognizance of complaints brought against the subjects and allies of the Romans.[4] These references are thought to confirm Festus' explanation.

There are several objections to this view, which seems strangely not to have been challenged by modern scholars. It maybe doubted whether *forctes* (=*fortis*) could ever have meant *bonus* in respect to political loyalty. It is evident also that Festus believed that these who had revolted were restored to full citizenship. He says so, in fact, in precise terms: *Itaque in XII cautum est ut idem iuris esset Sanatibus quod Forctibus;* but if this were the case the words *nexi mancipiique idem ius* would not be appropriate since they do not of themselves express the full rights of citizenship.[5] Nor when such rights had

[1] 74, 91, 426, 474 (Lindsay).

[2] Schoell, *Legis XII Tab. Reliquiae*, I, 5; Voight, *Die XII Tafeln*, p. 273; Lindsay, *Latin Language*, p. 183; Wordsworth, *Fragments and Specimens of Early Latin*, pp. 514–15.

[3] 474 (Lindsay): *Sanates dicti sunt qui supra infraque Romam habitaverunt. Quod nomen his fuit, quia cum defecissent a Romanis, brevi post redierunt in amicitiam, quasi sanata mente. Itaque in XII cautum est ut idem iuris esset Sanatibus.*

[4] ὁπόσα πρός τε ὑπηκόους καὶ συμμάχους . . . . ἀκροωμένους.

[5] *Nexum* was a contract much used in lending money, which up to about 300 B.C. carried the right of *manus iniectio* against the defaulting party without the intervention of the judgment of the *praetor*. When this became necessary, *nexum* fell into disuse. In the early period *nexum* and *mancipium* (right of sale) would contain the rights necessary for control of property. Cf. Herzog, *Römische Staatverfassung*, pp. 143, 263; Girard, *Manuel Elementaire*, 467,1, 478, 482; Poste, *Gai Inst.*, p. 346; Roby, *Roman Private Law*, II, 296; Buckland, *Elements of Roman Private Law*, p. 55.

been forfeited is it at all probable that the Romans in their organic law would have restored them in this obscure and roundabout fashion, giving those who have repented of treason the fanciful name of *Sanates*. We have also the express and weighty statement of Cicero, who learned the *XII Tables* in his boyhood,[1] that those who revolted never had the rights of Roman citizens.[2] Even in the Edict of Caracalla bestowing citizenship on the whole Roman world, the *dediticii* were excepted.[3] It seems impossible, therefore, to believe in the *Sanates* and *Forctes* as political classes.

Notwithstanding this erroneous interpretation, Festus in another passage gives a glimpse of the true context. The text, which is exceedingly defective, refers apparently to certain commentators on the *XII Tables* and concludes as follows: *multi sunt .... acuit displic .... ut sant forcti .... sanati insani*. This has been partly restored to read, *multi sunt quibus id quod his placuit displiceat*, indicating a divergent opinion regarding the meaning of the fragment. A clue to this opinion seems to lie in the four concluding words (for *sant* read *sgni*) with their significant juxtapositions.[4] They appear to associate the *forcti* with the *sani* and the *sanati* with the *insani* and to suggest that the *forcti* (*forctes*) were those of unimpaired health and the *sanati* (*sanates*) those who had been cured of insanity. Both were to have the same rights of *nexum* and *mancipium*, the insane being restored to legal competency on recovery from their mental disability—a great principle of Roman law being thus embodied in Rome's first organic legislation.

That this dim intimation of Festus' mutilated text points to the truth finds support in two or three considerations. One that *fortis* was later used commonly of sound health. Another is the use of the form *sanas*, an *i*-stem variant of *sanatus* with the suffix *ati*.[5] This suffix, which appears with clearly defined force, in *Arpinates*, *optimates*, *infimatis*, *nostrates*, and the interrogative *cuias*, gives to *sanas* the meaning of "one belonging to the cured," the *sanates*, as distinguished from *sanati*, being regarded as a special class, to which the law is made applicable. Thus, in point of meaning, *sanas* is appropriate to the context while in form (as is shown by the parallel use of *damnas*) it is characteristic of legal language.[6]

That the fragment has reference to insanity is further indicated by the

[1] *Leg.* ii. 23. 59.

[2] *Cat.* i. ii. 28: *At numquam in hac urbe qui a re publica defecerunt civium iura tenuerunt.*

[3] Kornemann, *Einleitung in Altertumswissenschaft*, III, 220.

[4] 426–28 (Lindsay).

[5] Lindsay, *Latin Language*, pp. 182, 183, 342; cf. Stolz, *Lat. Gram.* pp. 151, 169.

[6] For *damnas* in legal texts, see the Index to Bruns's *Fontes*. A relation similar to that of *sanas* and *senatus* seems to exist between *damnas* and *damnatus*. The latter is used of the judgment in a particular case, whereas *damnas* always occurs in the statement of the penalty, as in *Lex Iulia Agraria* iv. 8 (Bruns, *op. cit.*, p. 96): *siquis adversus ea quid fecerit .... HS IIII colonis .... dare damnas esto*. A person to whom a penalty has been adjudged is apparently not regarded as an isolated individual, but as belonging to the class of those condemned.

fact that this is the only malady of which the law would need to take notice. In disabling the mind and rendering rational control of property impossible insanity creates a situation which requires legal intervention. This aspect of the case is recognized and dealt with in the *XII Tables* by a provision placing the insane person under the guardianship of his kinsmen.[1] But there is another and equally obvious feature of insanity; namely, that many of those afflicted with it recover either temporarily or permanently. In the latter case, especially, it would be a great injustice if there were no provision for the termination of the guardianship. It is probable on this ground that there was such a provision, which would also be in accord with the Roman feeling (exemplified in later legal practice) that when a disability had been removed, rights lost on account of it should be restored.

As a matter of fact, in the case of the insane, this became a fixed rule of Roman law. When the person afflicted recovered even temporarily he was restored to legal competency. He could make a will disposing of his property, which was valid if made only in a lucid interval. The principle is expounded by Justinian,[2] and is also illustrated by Suetonius,[3] who writes of Augustus that he appointed governors for children who had not reached their majority and for adults who were deranged in mind. The guardianship, Suetonius says, continued until the young had reached the age of competency and the adults had recovered from their disability. The existence of this rule in Roman law by the side of one placing the insane person under guardianship makes it likely that this latter provision in the *XII Tables* was also supplemented by the restoration of legal rights on recovery from mental derangement. On this hypothesis the guaranty of equal rights to the *Sanates* and the *forctes* finds a reasonable explanation.

If this interpretation is correct, the fragment should be transferred from *Tab.* i (where Burns and Girard place it) to *Tab.* v, and should be printed in close relation with v. 7.

JEFFERSON ELMORE

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ANOTHER OF QUEEN CHRISTINA'S MANUSCRIPTS

Until the great catalogue of the collection is published, Queen Christina's books in the Vatican will remain one of the happiest hunting-grounds for lovers of manuscripts, a pleasure greatly increased not only by the presence of Monsignor Mercati with his ever ready fund of knowledge of the obscurest details needed, but by the interested and genial courtesy of every attendant, which goes far to atone for the inadequacy of the present inventory of the *Reginenses Latini*.

[1] V, 7 (Girard): *Si furiosus escit, ast ei nec custos escit, agnatum gentiliumque in eo pecuniaque eius potestas esto.* Cf. Cic. *Inv.* ii. 50. 148. Varro *R.R.I.* 2. 8; Gai. iii. 106.

[2] ii. 12. 1; cf. Sanders, *Institutes of Justinian*, p. 179.

[3] *Div. Aug.* 48.

Browsing in the pleasant field of these books last winter, in search of miscellanies containing classical authors, I happened on MS 1405 in the *Reginenses Latini*. For my purpose it was a useful volume, as it contains Cicero's *Topica* and the *Somnium Scipionis*, together with Gerbert's *Arithmetica* and Bede's *De Rerum Natura* and *De Temporibus*. My search was for manuscripts containing both classical and mediaeval authors in one original volume and with some evident purpose in the whole combination, and here was one I had not known before, written in a fairly regular eleventh-century minuscule. To my pleasure it had all the appearance of a well-used book, its very size being that of a comfortable *liber manualis*, not of a great show volume. Furthermore, its contents were a combination that was new to me, yet corresponding well with other manuscripts I had found containing slightly different groups of ancient and mediaeval authors on the same subjects.

The most interesting point about the book, however, was that folio 8^v was signed "P," showing that fourteen gatherings had been lost, and as the volume was composed of regular quaternions it was safe to assume that about 112 folia were gone. The signatures continue regularly to the end of the alphabet, and then begin again with *a*. Naturally, I wanted those 112 pages. A search of the book revealed on folio 105^v among various probationes and scarcely legible, a letter or two of each line cut off in the cutting down of the book, the *Contenta* in Petau's hand, and then I knew what to look for, for the first item, was "Ygenus," and the rest of the list was exactly what appeared in the volume before me.

The rest was easy. By good fortune, this was not one of the cases in which Voss had kept half of the book in Leyden. *Reginensis* 1207, Hyginus' *Astronomicon*, proved to be the missing half. It is composed of 104 folia, of which 1–103^v make up gatherings *A–N*. Folio 104 is a single leaf, the recto of which ends in chapter xiv of the *Astronomicon* with the words: *in eo loco quo maxime sol lucet reliquis partibus lumen. . . .* The missing portion makes up 92 lines in Bunte's edition, that is, just enough to have filled the rest of this quaternion, which would have made the missing "O" of the complete manuscript. Folio 104^v is blank, and it seems probable that for some reason the rest of the Hyginus was never copied, and when some economical scribe had taken the seven blank leaves for some other purpose it was easy for the rather corpulent little volume to become separated. Petau had it as one volume; Montfaucon gives the two parts as separate volumes with no reference to each other (his numbers are 1150 and 1993). He evidently did not notice Petau's Table of Contents in MS 1405.

I append a brief description of the entire manuscript:

MSS *REGINENSES LATINI* 1207–1405. S. XI

MS 1207, ff. 104; MS 1405, ff. 105. 16 lines
cm. 16.6×12.1. Script space 12.1×7.8
MS 1207. 1–104. Hyginus *Astronomicon* inc. at end
104^v blank

MS 1405. 1. "Sylvestri II antea Gerberti Arithmetica"
12. Cicero: *De Somnio Scipionis*
22v. Cicero: *Topica*
57v. Baeda: *De Rerum Natura*
84–105. Baeda: *De Temporibus*

The margins have been cut down. The gatherings are signed by capital letters with one or two wavy lines and the letter at the four sides. There are two styles of large capitals used in both halves of the book; a rather elaborate large letter with large and small dots for ornament; a smaller form with line decoration in winglike forms; and a very plain round letter. Most headings and initials are in red. There are no peculiarities in script or abbreviation.

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ARISTOPHANES' *FROGS*, LINES 1323–24

[Αἰσ.] ὁρᾷς τὸν πόδα τοῦτον; Δι. ὁρῶ.
Αἰσ. τί δαί; τοῦτον; ὁρᾷς; Δι. ὁρῶ.

The interpretation of this, the traditional reading of our passage, has taxed the ingenuity and imagination of editors for many years. It is fairly generally agreed that in 1323 Aeschylus refers to a faulty metrical foot in the preceding line and that Dionysus in his reply, true to his rôle as buffoon, misconceives the meaning and thinks of the human foot of either Aeschylus himself or Euripides or the Euripidean "Muse," as Aeschylus had dubbed the girl with the castanets (1305–7).

But what is the interpretation of the line succeeding? On this point, editors fall into two general groups.[1] One hypothesis[2] is that Aeschylus is led to repeat his question either "surprised and pleased with what he thinks to be the critical insight of Dionysus" or merely to confirm the original point. In either case, Aeschylus is viewed as serious, while Dionysus continues to distort the question so as to apply as in the line preceding.

This first theory suffers from several points of view. It represents Aeschylus as strangely obtuse. He is sufficiently keen and alert elsewhere.[3] The single word, ὁρῶ, twice uttered, is suspiciously restrained for so garrulous

[1] Bergk, in his edition of the *Frogs*, fuses 1323 and 1324 into a single line; Van Leeuwen does not print 1324 at all.

[2] So Thiersch, *Aristophanis Comoediae*, 1830; Fritzsche, *Aristophanis Ranae*, 1845; Merry, *The Frogs*, 1884; Tucker, *The Frogs of Aristophanes*, 1906. Tucker, in suggesting that the "Muse" at this point protrudes first one foot and then the other, either convicts his Aeschylus of unusual dulness of perception or of the extreme of buffoonery. The language of his note is not perfectly clear.

[3] E.g., vs. 1150.

a rogue as Dionysus. The wording of the question naturally implies a fresh topic of inquiry and not a mere repetition of the idea of the preceding line. In fact, the whole line would be otiose, which may be one of the reasons why Van Leeuwen omits it from his text.

The other hypothesis presupposes that Aeschylus in some way became aware that Dionysus in verse 1323 was alluding to the foot of Aeschylus or of the "Muse" and, falling in with the humor of that arch buffoon, extended one of his own legs as the subject of his query in 1324.[1]

Such a suggestion, by making the tragic poet a willing partner in the foolery of Dionysus, ignores the very nature of his rôle. Throughout the play he is characterized by pomposity of utterance and bearing, by self-conceit, by an irascible temper that vents itself in vituperation. His unswerving determination to expose the failings of his rival sometimes leads to the use of ludicrous devices, but never once—unless in verse 1324—does it induce him to lose sight of the vital business in hand and to indulge in cheap horseplay. The comic elements to be discerned in his part are either malicious thrusts or touches inherent in the grandiloquence of the character and apparent only to the spectators or to the other actors in the drama. Furthermore, nothing has yet occurred in the action to warrant so sudden a departure from his serious demeanor through anticipation of victory. The umpire is still, outwardly at least, partial to Euripides, and does not reveal his choice until line 1471.

That Aristophanes, while taking great liberties with both historic personages and the creatures of his own fancy, still knows how to portray characters consistently serious is abundantly proved by the extant plays. No less than eleven such rôles can be listed besides the Aeschylus of our play: Euripides and Lamachus of the *Acharnians*, Cleon in the *Knights*, Socrates and Pheidippides in the *Clouds*, the Proboulos in the *Lysistrata*, both Euripides and Agathon of the *Thesmophoriazusae*, the Euripides of the *Frogs*, and Penia and Dikaios of the *Plutus*.

Granting that any one of the eleven has its comic aspect, not once does it manifest itself in conscious, premeditated fun-making but in unconscious humor resulting from the caricatures produced by the poet or from the situation itself. We find a marked contrast in his handling of such characters as Dicaeopolis and the Megarian of the *Acharnians*. Although engaged in most serious business, both are coarse and indecent and prone at any moment to disregard the real situation to win thereby a laugh from the house.

[1] So Pernice, *Die Frösche des Aristophanes*, 1856; Rogers, *The Frogs*, 1902. The latter is quite explicit on the point: "In the first line Aeschylus is quite serious, and only Dionysus is jesting. In the second line, they are both playing the fool." Bakhuysen, *De Parodiis*, p. 170, makes the curious suggestion, which he erroneously fathers upon Fritzsche and Bothe, that at this point the actor who played Aeschylus tried to embrace the girl. Bothe had made the gratuitous suggestion with reference to the actor of Euripides, not Aeschylus. Fritzsche says nothing of the sort whatsoever.

Believing, therefore, that none of the interpretations hitherto suggested for our passage[1] does credit to the genius of Aristophanes, the writer would propose a slight revision of the text. While keeping verse 1323 exactly as found in the manuscripts, let us redistribute line 1324 so that Dionysus may have the first four words and Aeschylus the final ὁρῶ. We may then imagine that Dionysus, interpreting the question in line 1323 with reference to the foot of Aeschylus accidentally advanced for the moment, or to one of the feet of the "Muse," replies "I see. What then! Do you see this [foot]?" pointing either to the other foot of the girl or to one of his own. That Aeschylus deigns to notice such slap-stick comedy, so characteristic of the Dionysus of the *Frogs*, with the laconic ὁρῶ, thereupon resuming immediately his attack upon Euripides, is surely less surprising than for him to have been himself guilty of the cheap joke.

Paleographically, the proposed change is obviously simple. The outward similarity of lines 1323 and 1324, which may well have caused the omission of the latter from the Venetus manuscript, would suffice to account for the faulty assignment of parts in that line.

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[1] In Gilbert Murray's translation of the play, 1912, the passage in question appears in this English dress:

AESCH.: "That foot, you see?" D.: 'I do." AESCH.: "And he?" EUR.: "Of course I see the foot." For this there seems, however, to be not the slightest warrant in the text. Radermacher, *Aristophanes' "Frösche,"* 1921, assigns the ὁρῶ of both lines to Euripides instead of Dionysus. His only warrant would appear to be the fact that in vs. 1325 the speaker is manifestly addressing Euripides. But this change does not help in dealing with the main problem.

should be presented to indicate fitness to undertake special work in Rome. The Fellows will be selected by the jury without further examination, after a thorough consideration of the papers and other evidence submitted.

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ROSCOE GUERNSEY

ON LUCIAN *PROMETHEUS* 3

οὐ συνιεὶς ὡς πολὺ ἀμορφότερα τὰ μετὰ τοῦ ξένου ταὐτὸ πεπονθότα. We must read *τοῦτο*. Lucian is saying that mere novelty cannot save an ugly invention. Ugliness coupled with novelty is uglier still. *τοῦτο πεπονθότα* is a mere variation for *ἄμορφα ὄντα* or *ἄμορφον ὄν* in the previous sentence. This use of *τοῦτο πάσχειν* or *τοῦτο ποιεῖν* to avoid repetition is too common to need illustration. *ταὐτό* is obviously wrong. Fritzchius reads *αὐτό*. Some of the older editions *αὐτά*. Sommerbrodt's *οὐ συνιεὶς Πτολεμαίου ἀμφότερα τὰ μετὰ τοῦ ξένου αὐτός πεπονθώς* is a complete misunderstanding.

PAUL SHOREY

THE *VITA S. CHRYSOSTOMI* BY GEORGIUS ALEXANDRINUS

Georgius Alexandrinus, the author of a *Vita S. Chrysostomi*, is commonly identified with Georgius II, archbishop of Alexandria (*ca.* 620–30). But this identification, although such is the tradition of the MSS, has not won universal acceptance, for there seem to be three prominent protestants to it.

It is true that Photius (*ca.* 820–91), our earliest witness to the *Vita*, could not identify the author. This is not so very disconcerting, since Photius did not deny the identification. He simply did not know who wrote the *Vita*—and said so.[1]

The learned Fabricius denied the identification on the ground that there had never been a patriarch of Alexandria whose name was Georgius.[2] But the *testimonia* of the ancient annalists, who will be named presently, disprove this assertion.

In modern times Dom Chrysostom Baur, *O.S.B.*, has declared that the *Vita S. Chrysostomi* by Theodorus Trimithuntinus (*flor. ca.* 680) was used as a source by the Georgius Alexandrinus who composed the *Vita* under discussion, and that therefore this *Vita* must not be attributed to that Georgius who was archbishop of Alexandria from *ca.* 620 to 630.[3] Dom Baur is alone in this view. After a careful examination of the passage which he submits as evidence of Georgius' use of Theodorus, I have been led to conclude that the

[1] *Bibliotheca* Cod. xcvi.

[2] *Bibliotheca Graeca* vii. 556.

[3] *S. Jean Chrysostome et ses œuvres dans l'histoire littéraire*, pp. 45, 46. Louvain and Paris, 1907.

relation between the two biographers is exactly the reverse, i.e., that Theodorus both knew and used the work of Georgius.[1]

It seems, then, that the identification may stand.

Of Georgius II we have very little information. Eutychius, archbishop of Alexandria (934–50), is the only authority who does more than merely mention him; and his account is not consistent with itself.[2]

The precise years of the patriarchate of Georgius are uncertain. There is general agreement, however, among authorities that his successor, Cyrus, was consecrated in 630;[3] but the same authorities are divided upon the date of Georgius' own consecration. One ancient annalist places the accession of Georgius in 622,[4] but some modern critics have set 616 as the year[5] and others have decided in favor of 620,[6] which seems to be the most probable date.[7]

Sir Henry Savile was the first to edit the Greek text of Georgius' *Vita* in his great edition of *Chrysostomi Opera Omnia* (Eton, 1612). The *Vita*, never re-edited, is accessible only in Savile's edition, which was never reprinted (Bardenhewer is mistaken when he cites Migne, *PG*, CXIV, 1045–1210, as an edition of the *Vita*,[8] for the *Vita* therein is that by Symeon Metaphrastes, the most diligent of the Greek hagiographers). Georgius had been already translated *ex manuscripto* into Latin by Gottfried Tilman (Paris, 1557),[9] when Savile constructed his text from two MSS which he described merely as *Palatinus* and *Bavaricus*.[10] The MSS Savile employed are prob-

[1] Theodorus is edited by Migne in *Patrologia Graeca*, XLVII, li–lxxxviii. Georgius is edited by Savile in *Chrysostomi Opera Omnia*, VIII, 157–265. The corresponding *loci* follow:

T	G
Col. lx, *c.* 10	Pp. 210. 37–211. 23
lxiii, *c.* 12 *ad init.*	211. 15–17
lxxvi, *c.* 24 *ad fin.*	219. 39–41
lxxix, lxxx, *cc.* 26, 27	248. 25–249. 31
lxxxii, lxxxiv, *c.* 30	250. 7–30
lxxxiv, lxxxvii, lxxxviii, *c.* 32 *ad init. et ad med.*	251. 8, 9, 22–26

[2] *Annales*, *cc.* 265–67, 385–87.

[3] So Baronius, Cave, Oudin, LeQuien, Clinton, Means, Gams, Krumbacher, and Baur. Others give various dates: Theophanes, 621; Theophanes (again) and Eutychius, 625; Eutychius (again), 626; von Gutschmid and Bardenhewer, 631.

[4] So Eutychius, *loc. cit.*

[5] So Oudin, LeQuien, Clinton, and Means.

[6] So Baronius, Cave, Lambeck, and Gams.

[7] Others give various dates: Theophanes, 611; von Gutschmid, 621. St. Nicephorus allows Georgius eleven years without date (*Chronographia Brevis*, ix. *Episcopi Alexandrini*, No. 49).

[8] *Patrologie* (2d ed.), p. 562.

[9] Savile's edition does not contain a Latin version of the *Vita*.

[10] *Op. cit.*, VIII, *App.* 941, 942. Savile followed the *Palatinus* regularly except where the *Bavaricus* had a *lectio perspicue melior* (*ibid.*, *App.* 946).

ably the MSS now known as Rome: *Bibl. Vat.: Pal. Gr.* 80 (*saec.* XII) and Munich: *Staatsbibl.: Gr.* 155 (*saec.* XIV–XV). There are extant other (and older) MSS containing the *Vita;* but whether Savile could have had access to them if he had been aware of their existence, we do not know.[1]

Of special interest to students of the life of St. Joannes Chrysostomus, who was archbishop of Constantinople from 398 to 404, is the fact that the *Vita* contains almost wholly verbatim about one-half of the *Dialogus de Vita S. Chrysostomi* by Palladius Helenopolitanus, his friend and biographer. The *Dialogus,* as is well known, is our best authority, for the life of St. Chrysostomus. Page after page of the *Vita* is lifted bodily from the *Dialogus,* which circumstance renders the *Vita* very valuable for the textual criticism of the *Dialogus.*

In addition to Palladius and Socrates, who are mentioned by name in the *Vita,*[2] Georgius is thought to have laid under contribution St. Chrysostomus,[3] Sozomenus,[4] Theodoretus,[5] St. Cyrillus Alexandrinus,[5] and Joannes Moschus.[6]

With this array of sources,[7] one hardly expects to discover much in the *Vita* of Georgius' own composition, especially since one alone of his sources—Palladius—accounts for one-third of the text, which occupies 108 pages in Savile's folio edition. That Georgius did contribute something *de suo* to his *Vita,* however, is shown by Blondel, who produced a long list of Georgius' inventions besides numerous instances of Georgius' corrupt copying of his predecessors.[8]

The *Vita* is a confused collection of legends, anecdotes, and miracles, which conspire to construct a superfluous superstructure above the authentic accounts about St. Chrysostomus contained in the citations from Georgius' sources. In his lengthy résumé of the *Vita,* Photius warns us that the legendary element must be distinguished from the historical portion of the work.[9]

From Photius onward Georgius has been severely criticized for the barbarity of his style,[9] which seems to have resulted naturally from his combining into one narrative the *ipsissima verba* of his several sources. I have

[1] Of MSS I have found eight at Paris and one at each of these places: Rome, Oxford, Vienna, and Mount Athos.

[2] Savile, *op. cit.,* VIII, 158, 25–32.

[3] Baur, *op. cit.,* pp. 45, 46.

[4] Savile, *op. cit.,* VIII, *App.* 941, 942. Baur mentions only Theodoretus (*op. cit.,* p. 45).

[5] Savile, *op. cit.,* VIII, 293. But Tillemont disagreed (*Mémoires,* XI, 2, 3).

[6] Blondel, *De la Primauté en l' Église,* p. 1230.

[7] Dom Baur has written to me that he expects to publish in the near future a catalogue of Georgius' sources, chapter by chapter. He has very kindly sent me his results thus far, which do not add any names to those which I have already indicated.

[8] *Op. cit.,* pp. 1229–44. Blondel found twenty-one examples of the former and sixteen of the latter.

[9] *Loc. cit.*

not found a single historian who has tried to mitigate the accumulated *dicta* of derogation which have been passed upon Georgius. On the contrary, each historian has attempted to surpass his predecessors in calling attention to the faults of Georgius.[1] Of all that has been written about Georgius' style, the opinion of Savile best commends itself to us, since Savile, as Georgius' only editor, was, perhaps, the most familiar with his author: *Qui certe, ut de ἀνιστορησίᾳ Photio notata nihil dicam, omnibus certe suis aequalibus, etiam posteris (ut de vetustioribus taceam) infantiae in dicendo palmam praeripuisse merito iudicetur.*[2]

P. R. NORTON

[1] Cf. especially Allacci, *De Georgiis, et eorum Scriptis, Diatriba* (written in 1644), *ap.* Fabricius, *op. cit.*, X, 617–20.

[2] *Op. cit.*, VIII, *App.* 941, 942.

BOOK REVIEWS

Horace, a New Interpretation. By Archibald Y. Campbell, M.A., Professor of Greek in the University of Liverpool. Methuen & Co., London. 12-6.

This large volume of literary criticism on Horace's poetry is an extremely provocative book. It opens with an attack upon a favorite lyric, *O fons Bandusiae*, on the ground that the spring described is polluted by blood of sacrifice so that it is revolting to herd and traveler. It bases its aesthetic criticism on a new theory of cycles of literature which places the epic form later than lyric and drama, a contention with which few will agree. It dubs Horace a literary defaulter because he did not crown his career by writing drama. In short, the student of Horace as he peruses Mr. Campbell's pages is metamorphosed from gentle reader into argumentative interlocutor, with a craving to enter into immediate discussion with the author. Possibly Mr. Campbell has method in his madness and is using a Pirandello-like challenge to catch attention, following the device of the title itself—*Horace, a New Interpretation.*

Certainly some novel method of approach is needed to rivet interest throughout a volume of 299 pages, and I admit frankly that Mr. Campbell held mine. The book is discursive, would gain by condensation, is hard reading, not being written with that distinction of style to which English critics like Gilbert Murray, Mackail, and J. A. K. Thomson have accustomed us. But the *ordo*, the structure of the whole, is clarified by an admirable *conspectus*, or detailed outline. A briefer Table of Contents shows the arrangement of the material: "Part I, General: I. A Classic as Seen by Romantics; II. The Function of Poetry in the Ancient World; III. Horace's Own Theory and Practice of Poetry; IV. Life and Work; Part II, Particular: V. Experiment: The *Epodes;* VI. Feeling after Form: The *Satires;* VII. Composition: The *Odes;* VIII. Compromise: The *Ars Poetica* and *Epistles.*"

Beginning with a chapter on the undiscriminating comments upon Horace made by Landor and Tyrrell, Mr. Campbell proceeds in chapter ii to build up an elaborate theory of cycles in literature, each consisting of three phases—lyric, drama, epic. Of these phases, lyric and drama were functional or with distinct moral purpose; the third, epic, appealed only to the intelligence, therefore included abortive drama, with philosophic dialogue, mime, and scientific textbook, and narrative, including epic and novel. Now these cycles are not always complete, that is why the first cycle in Greek literature

seems to begin with epic; the preceding phases are lost or "entirely lacking." This is somewhat surprising, but not so amazing as to find that in the next cycle after lyric from Terpander to Pindar and drama in Aeschylus, Sophocles and Aristophanes, the epic phase is completed with the "abortive drama" of Euripides which has "not any direct moral function." My astonishment grew as I learned that in the next Greek cycle epic includes the mime, the diatribe, and the Platonic *Dialogues*, and that in proper literary classification "the Platonic dialogue, the Euripidean literary-marionette-play, the Horatian satire" belong together. Perhaps to other readers chapter ii will seem more convincing than it does to me. Personally, I was glad to find that in his Preface Mr. Campbell states that the chapter, "although indispensable to my thesis, may be omitted without serious detriment to the understanding of the remaining chapters." This is true, for its theory seems to affect Mr. Campbell's criticism of Horace only to the extent of disparaging his literary output because it did not include drama.

An admirable chapter on Horace's own theory and practice of poetry follows, in which his spiritual and moral function as priest of the muses and mentor of his countrymen is made the explanation of his oracular style. This furnishes the basis for many illuminating interpretations of individual poems. On another point in theory, however, I cannot agree with Mr. Campbell, namely, when he says that "literary biography is not properly a part of literary criticism." I believe that his own literary interpretations suffer in certain cases from inadequate study of Horace's life and his relation to the times. For in the interpretation of the poems, full value is not given to the fact that Horace was a knight, and therefore could have had a political career, but gave it up for his writing. Second, the probable influence of Trebatius in modifying the style of the *Sermones* and helping effect the change from personal satires to genial, urbane epistles is not mentioned. Third, no development in Horace's attitude toward problems of sex is traced. I also am inclined to regard Horace's diatribe against Canidia as serious in view of the practice of magic in the Augustan Age, attested by the other poets of the time and by the edicts against it. And I think his own words disprove that at any period of his life he was "a Stoic in all but name," or that he found his *summum bonum* in what Mr. Campbell himself calls "the prickly self-contained cactus of Stoicism." On all these points I hope to publish some material shortly.

When, however, Mr. Campbell begins to interpret individual poems, he is often illuminating, as in his treatment of *Epode 16* with his comments on the probable date, its sacerdotal tone, its structure, its intentional contrast of moods. His theories of the literary ancestors of satires and odes are also suggestive. He maintains that Satura is not totally Roman, but more nearly totally Greek, since in Horace converged two streams: one the Sicilian mime conveyed through Ennius, the other the Bion diatribe handed down by Lucilius. Again in the Horatian *Ode*, Mr. Campbell sees a synthesis of the simple lyric of Alcaeus and Sappho and the ornate lyric of Pindar which makes

the *Odes* of Horace the consummation of ancient lyric poetry. And for the *Epistles*, he urges that two poems of Theocritus, 16 and 28, are anticipations of Horace's poetic letters. In discussing each form used by Horace, not only are the literary progenitors studied, but the poet's development in the use of the form and his own peculiar methods of handling it. So invaluable is this material for the student of Horace that I wonder if it should not have been made more easily available in an edition of his works.

I should like to discuss in detail the interpretation of many individual poems, but must content myself with commenting on the striking phraseology with which Mr. Campbell has enriched Horatian criticism—such expressions as Horace's poetical economy, oracular style, deliberate discontinuity, tangential velocity, compressed antithesis, the inset dialogues, the *volte-face* ending, the εἰρωνεία; Horace is "a free-lance in the spiritual world"; his style is "a special blend of magniloquence, allusiveness, and oracularity." It is strange that with such power of phrase, Mr. Campbell is sometimes careless in his own speech and lets drop words like "amnestied," "evolute," "a firming-up of form," "tendencious dialogue," or such mixed metaphors as in this sentence: "This literary vesture is really little more than the stalking horse under cover of which the poet 'shoots' . . . . his new effects." But I would not protest too much.

The title of the book—*Horace, a New Interpretation*—seems unfortunate and peculiarly un-Horatian. The reader is inevitably challenged to ask:

Quid dignum tanto feret hic promissor hiatu?

And while it is not a *ridiculus mus* that is created, the really novel part of the book is a theory of aesthetic criticism with which perhaps few will agree and which is not its most valuable contribution. That for me lies in a keen and thoughtful study of Horace's literary art which, as Mr. Campbell himself acknowledges, is an amplification of Sellar's admirable work. I believe that it is a rich and valuable extension of that fine literary appreciation.

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Hellenistische Dichtung in der Zeit des Kallimachos. By ULRICH V. WILAMOWITZ-MOELLENDORFF. Berlin: Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, 1924. 2 volumes.

Professor Wilamowitz has evidently been subsidized to do what many less distinguished and less erudite professors would be glad to do—publish his old lecture notes. In his case the notes are, of course, eminently worth while for specialists, though I doubt if they are more valuable than those which the Virgilian conscience of Gildersleeve ordered to be burned. They do not, except in the *Platon*, constitute a book, but some semblance of order is im-

parted by dividing them in each case into a volume of continuous text and a volume of *Interpretationen.*

The first volume of the present work opens with a historical introduction which the author says cost him much sweat, but which he deems indispensable to provide a setting for hellenistic poetry. It may have been indispensable for his students. It is not so for the reader who can find what he needs in Droysen or, for that matter, in Mahaffy. A large part of it is occupied not with a consecutive narration but with character sketches of the chief personalities of the age: Antigonos, Demetrios, Antipatros, Cassandros, Lysimachos, Seleucos, Ptolemaios Soter, Arsinoe, Ptolemaios III, Pyrrhos, Antigonos Gonatas, etc. There are also miscellaneous reflections on such topics as philosophy and education, the schools of philosophy, the academy, immortality, apotheosis, the demon, Tyche, the later Greek ethics, the feeling for nature, Romanticism and the like. Much of this is commonplace, though of course the learning, the acumen, and the special opportunities of the writer sometimes enrich the treatment with fresh suggestions or open up new vistas. There follows under the title "Der Umschwung der Dichtung" a discussion of the fourth century as an age of prose, the predominance of Attic, the dying out of the old poetic forms, tragedy, ode, etc., the development of epos and idyllium, and the pre-Callimachean history of the epigram. This last topic omits Simonides, already treated in "Sappho and Simonides," criticizes the hypothesis of Reitzenstein again, glances at the Platonic epigrams, and gives a paragraph or a page to Phalaikos, Nossis, Anyte, Perses, Mnasalkes, Leonidas, Hedylos, Asklepiades, Poseidippos. In the first chapter of section three, "Die Hochblüte," we have a sketch of the city and culture of Alexandreia for which the American student may profitably substitute the introductory chapter of John Williams White's *Scholia of Aristophanes.* The rest of the volume treats of Callimachus, with inserts on his contemporaries, Lycophron, Aratus, Apollonius, and some consideration of the worth of this poetry and its after-influence on the Latin. It is the most solid and readable part of the book, though it offers little, apart from the treatment of the new fragments that could not be learned as well from Susemihl, Couat, Croiset, and Mahaffy —except, and perhaps it is a large exception, a more critical or conjectural reconstruction of the chronology of Callimachus' life and work, and that high estimate of the metric and the art of the Callimachean epigram which Wilamowitz has always held.

The *Interpretationen*, or notes, evade the responsibilities of a systematic and complete exegesis. They give such an account of the circumstances, purpose, and meaning of the poems as a teacher more at home in history, antiquities, geography, and mythology than in literature would present to a seminar. To this is added an occasional detail of commentary on points of special interest to the writer. All students of Alexandrian poetry must use these notes; but they cannot take the place of other aids or of an English interpreter of Greek literature who understands his opportunities as heir of

the only literature that supplies the right comment on Greek poetry. Eighty-seven pages are given to the *Hymns* in the order, *Zeus, Birth of Pallas, Demeter, Artemis, Delos, Apollo*. In connection with the hymn to Demeter there are some good observations on Ovid. Follows, 87–91, an interpretation of the *Epinikion for* Sosibios, too obscure to be examined here. The prologue of the *Aitia* and the *Ibis* receive ten pages, mainly concerned with the Romans. Selected epigrams, including nearly all those of Callimachus, fill about thirty pages. There are a few pages of observations on the *Ptolemaios* and the *Thalysia* of Theocritus. There are twenty-two pages on Lycophron, including as a specimen the text and interpretation of 1281–1361. A long essay on Apollonius is readable enough, but has little new unless it be in the geography and the mythology which I have not tested and which I would impose upon no student either here or in the teaching of the fourth Pythian.

The pretentious little chapter on Kleanthes' hymn is not as good as what the English reader already has in Pearson's edition of the fragments of Zeno and Kleanthes. Wilamowitz, as is the fashion, overpraises the poetry and religion of this hymn with the usual "monistic" rhetoric. Aratus with specimens and a discussion of Catullus' hellenistic poems complete the work. Sporadic observations on text criticism are scattered throughout the two volumes. In this regard, as in the Appendix to the *Platon*, less would be more. Who would not be awestruck by pages of such erudition as this? "Auf dem Wege hat Wackernagel sehr schönes hinzugefügt. Aber Merkel hat nicht nur durch die Überschätzung von L, sondern auch durch die unglückliche Wahl des einzigen Guelferbytanus neben ihm nicht selten einen Rückschritt gegen Brunck gemacht. Dessen Vernachlässigung durch H. Keil in den Scholien hat noch mehr geschadet." But when it comes to results, I find in the chapter on Apollonius only two good emendations which I should have been glad to publish in *Classical Philology*. In *Argonautica* 1. 638, ἀμηχανίῃσι δ' ἔχοντο for ἀμηχανίῃ δ' ἐχέοντο, and in 3.1310, the slight but extremely probable γνὺξ ἐριπόντα (cf. θ. 329) for ἐπιόντα—the contribution "eines hoffnungsvollen liebenswürdigen Schülers Breidenbach . . . . , der so gut wie alle Seminarmitglieder des Jahres 1914 den Heldentod gestorben ist." I suppose that will include most, if not all, the members of my own little seminar on Aristotle's *de anima* in the winter of 1913–14. *Sunt lacrimae rerum*—

"I pity mothers too down south
For all they sot among the scorners."

PAUL SHOREY

Kring Platons Phaidros. By GUNNAR RUDBERG. Göteborg: Eranos' Forlag, 1924.

There exists, as Dr. Rudberg reminds us, a whole literature on the dating of the *Phaedrus*. It runs from Diogenes Laertius' quotation of previous suggestions that the *Phaedrus*, because of its sophomoric character, was the

earliest work of Plato to the hypothesis of Schleiermacher and others that it is a program of study for the Academy, and from Schleiermacher to Wilamowitz, who changed his mind, and from Wilamowitz to Raeder, von Arnim, Pohlenz, and Barwick. I have nothing to add to this literature beyond what was said in my *Unity of Plato's Thought* and in the review of Barwick and others.[1] The *Phaedrus* is presumably a mature work and the wealth of its ideas, the variety of its literary motives and styles—lively dramatic Introduction, successful parody of Lysias, Socratic dialectic, myth and poetical prose, theory of method, parallels with the *Laws* and *Parmenides*, illustrate and, it may be, support the thesis of the unity of Plato's thought.

Without arguing a *post hoc propter hoc* I may point out that the "inconstancy" of Plato's thought is no longer a fashionable topic. The vogue now rather sets to the diversity of Plato's moods. That is much safer as well as saner. The investigator who devotes a treatise to the inconsistencies of Plato's thought will inevitably give his own scholarship away before he concludes. But Plato undoubtedly experienced many moods of which there may be traces in the tone and temper of his writings, and the only criticism that can be passed on the attempt to trace them definitely and definitively is that it is one way of writing a psychologico-historical romance. We have three recent experiments in this kind: the *Platon*, of Wilamowitz; the *Platons Leben*, of Ernst Howald;[2] and the book before us. This book, however, begins quite soberly as an inquiry into the date of the *Phaedrus*. Taking for granted the view of those who regard it as a mature work, Dr. Rudberg reinforces this assumption by detailed considerations of speech statistics and word-order and by a considerable independent study of the vocabulary in the manner of Campbell's Introduction to the *Sophist* and the *Statesman*, but with careful discrimination of the prose vocabulary from that of the parts composed in an intentionally poetic diction. From this he passes to resemblances between the *Phaedrus* and the seventh epistle which he assumes to be genuine. Apart from some dubious "parallel passages" (such as the ὄρνις in *Phaedrus* 249 B and *Epistle VII* 348 A) the points chiefly emphasized are the deprecation of the written word and the idea of a sudden mental and spiritual illumination in both. In my opinion the disparagement of writing in the seventh epistle is an obvious imitation and exaggeration of the *Phaedrus* passage for reasons which I will give elsewhere, and the notion of a sudden intellectual illumination by personal contact of which Professor Burnet also makes much is not really found in the *Phaedrus*. It is my habit in the classroom to dispose of this whole matter by reading *Symposium* 175 B: Εὖ ἂν ἔχοι, φάναι, ὦ Ἀγάθων, εἰ τοιοῦτον εἴη ἡ σοφία ὥστ' ἐκ τοῦ πληρεστέρου εἰς τὸν[3] κενώτερον ῥεῖν ἡμῶν ἐὰν ἁπτώμεθα ἀλλήλων. Dr. Rudberg, rejecting the second epistle, gives a rational interpretation (p. 74) of that illumination citing as I would the vision of the idea of good attained only after long study in the *Republic*. But, as he accepts the sixth

[1] Cf. *Classical Philology*, X, 230.

[2] Cf. *ibid.* (1924), p. 379.

[3] Burnet naturally prefers τό.

epistle and, I believe, the thirteenth, he cannot escape the summary confutation by means of *Symposium* 175 B.

I cannot go into further details except to note that he has an interpretation of the vexed ἐν χώρᾳ 344 C which does not convince me, but for which I will not here substitute my own. Hackforth gives it up as desperate.

All this is subsidiary to the main purpose of the book which is to depict Plato's *Stämning* (our old friend *Stimmung*) at the time of his second Sicilian journey and its consequences for the chronology of his writings. Briefly, for I must abbreviate, it comes to this: The *Phaedrus* was not, as Wilamowitz thinks, written on a happy summer day immediately after the completion of the *Republic*. The second half of the *Theaetetus* was not hurriedly thrown together while Plato was packing his trunks for Syracuse. Plato had been working on both the dialogues and took them both to Syracuse. The intense emotional experiences of that year prevented Plato from giving the finishing touches to the *Theaetetus*, which therefore remains, as Wilamowitz says, in the rough, but lifted the unfinished *Phaedrus* to a higher aesthetic and emotional plane and made it the last and perhaps the greatest work of Plato's (renewed) youth. (Come now, his years were but sixty.) After this crisis come the works in which we have the avowed *Stimmung* of old age—*Parmenides, Sophist, Statesman*, etc. It was meeting at Syracuse the love of his early manhood, Dion, that brought about this emotional crisis and renewal of youth and gave wings to the philosophy of love in the *Phaedrus*. Plato himself makes this clear by the possible pun on Dion's name in the *Phaedrus*[1] which has often been suggested and which Rudberg assumes as certain and takes for his starting-point. I cannot enter into the details of the elaboration of this psychological romance in the interesting study of Plato's relations with both Dion and Dionysius. The later date of the *Phaedrus* is again supported by further *Sprachstatistik*. The *Parmenides*, it is argued, comes after the *Theaetetus* and has in common with the other dialogues of old age, the *Sophist* and *Philebus*, for example, the conscious contrast of youth and age. The objection that the *Phaedrus* refers to the *Parmenides* is met by the argument that the reference may be prospective. Since we are dealing in "parallels" I will venture on one. Dr. Rudberg writes (p. 129): *Det omstridda ordet kan lika väl vara en hänvisning framät, ett päpekande av tankar, som äro aktuella, kanske under utarbetning för skriftlig form.* In my dissertation *De Platonis idearum doctrina* (Munich, 1884, p. 21) I wrote *ut rem uno exemplo absolvam, prorsus nihil interest, quod quidem ad quaestionem philosopham attinet, utrum loci Phaedri* (261 D) *et Sophistae* (217 C) *ad Parmenidem jam litteris consignatum an consignandum spectent.*

Two excursuses, one on the praise of Isocrates in the *Phaedrus* and the other on Plato and Michelangelo, conclude this interesting, learned, and well-printed[2] if in my *nüchtern judgment* somewhat speculative book.

[1] 252 E οἱ μὲν δὴ οὖν Διὸς δῖόν τινα εἶναι ζητοῦσι, etc.

[2] On p. 80 εὐτυχεῖν should be ἐντυχεῖν.

The writer assumes throughout that there is a progressive *Wissenschaft* of Platonic *Forschung* to which he is making a contribution. I, on the contrary, believe that the understanding of Plato is to a very slight degree dependent on any progress of philological science. It is mainly a matter of the philosophic intelligence, the literary taste, the range of reading, the familiarity with Plato's own words, and the knowledge of Greek idiom of the individual interpreter. That supposed mystic, Pico della Mirandola, knew that the *Parmenides* is not a metaphysical theology but a dialectical exercitation. Mill, in advance of the new philology, perceived that the *Philebus* is later than the *Republic*, and Walter Pater and Emile Faguet, despite the deficiencies of their scholarship, are right on many points where professional philologians go astray.

PAUL SHOREY

Stoicorum Veterum Fragmenta collegit Ioannes ab Arnim. Volumen IV quo indices continentur conscripsit Maximilianus Adler. Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1924.

The usefulness of von Arnim's indispensable collection of the fragments of the Stoics is almost doubled by this Index filling 220 pages. Detailed criticism would be possible only after continued use. I have tested the main Index (168 pages), that on the Greek words pertinent to stoicism, in twenty or thirty cases and found it correct. The six-page *Index vocabulorum . . . . quae ab actoribus Romanis e Graeco in Latinum sermonem translata sunt* is very welcome. But its value would have been greatly enhanced had it been possible to enlarge it and give references to the texts. The *index nominum propriorum* makes it possible to find at once all quotations of, e.g., Euripides or Homer and, I was going to add, of Plato, but it seems to give only the explicit references and to overlook the reminiscences and latent quotations. A convenient *index fontium* fills the last thirty-four pages. The author had also prepared an *index graecitatis Chrysippeae, linguae* κοινῆς *maxime studiis utilis,* but was obliged to omit it *ne hoc volumen maius fieret.*

Works of this sort, infinitely more helpful than a wilderness of abstract essays and unprovable hypotheses, rarely receive the credit they deserve. The thanks of all serious workers in this field are due to Professor von Arnim, Dr. Adler, and the house of Teubner.

PAUL SHOREY

Die Philosophie des Altertums. Problemgeschichtliche und systematische Untersuchungen. By RICHARD HÖNIGSWALD. Second Edition. Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1924.

The German public has called for a second edition of this thoughtful but abstruse book, first published in 1916. At first glance the abstract style and the slight attention paid to historical detail seemed to put it outside the sphere of classical philology. But as I read on I became interested and read to the end.

It does not pretend to be a history of philosophy, though it follows the order of Greek philosophy from the prehistoric cosmogonies and the pre-Socratic Ionians to neo-Platonism. It is a study of the fundamental problems with which the history of philosophy must be, and in fact is, concerned. That is not altogether a new idea. What is new is that the author selects the right problems and analyzes them intelligently. While not altogether neglecting social, ethical, economic, and political considerations the author concentrates his attention on two sets of ideas or problems: the questions that suggest themselves to the primitive and continue to occupy the developed mind concerning the origin and structure of the world, which are predominant in the first third of the volume, and the problem of ideas, of concepts, of universals, of the universal and the particular, of the Aristotelian criticism of Plato which fills the larger, and to me the most interesting, part of the book. Space failing for a detailed review, I can only say that even when I cannot altogether follow him I find the author's discussion of these matters always intelligent and often illuminating. Though written in the abstract German style the book has none of the pure Hegelian jargon that English readers too often associate with that form of expression. The sentences always mean something and the meaning is worth getting at. Especially interesting are the discussion of nominalism, the theory of the definition, the examination of the traditional distinction between definitions of words and definitions of things, the relation of the entire problem of universals and abstract ideas to psychology and epistemology, the respective influence on Plato and Aristotle of mathematical and biological conceptions. It adds value to these discussions that the author evidently is acquainted with Berkeley and Hobbes as well as with Plato and Aristotle. He attributes Hobbes's materialism to Stoic influence. I should rather explain it by the empiric aspect of Aristotle's philosophy, which Hobbes knew very well while he dismissed the rest, the relapses into Platonism as they are sometimes called, as regrettable divagations.

Professor Hönigswald does ample justice to Plato, but I am hard to satisfy. I think, for example, that I can find in Plato himself a clear recognition of that distinction between the absolute and the functional acceptance of the reality of the abstract universal on which our author justly lays great stress. What else is *Parmenides* 135 B, *ἀλλὰ μέντοι εἶπεν ὁ Παρμενίδης, εἴ γέ τις δή, ὦ Σώκρατες, αὖ μὴ ἐάσει εἴδη τῶν ὄντων εἶναι, εἰς πάντα τὰ νυνδὴ καὶ ἄλλα τοιαῦτα ἀποβλέψας, μηδέ τι ὁριεῖται εἶδος ἑνὸς ἑκάστου, οὐδὲ ὅποι τρέψει τὴν διάνοιαν ἕξει, μὴ ἐῶν ἰδέαν τῶν ὄντων ἑκάστου τὴν αὐτὴν ἀεὶ εἶναι, καὶ οὕτως τὴν τοῦ διαλέγεσθαι δύναμιν παντάπασι διαφθερεῖ.* Professor Hönigswald sometimes defends nominalism by the plea that the negations of intelligent nominalists refer only to the absolute abstract while they affirm the functional. But both the philosophic and the anecdotal history of ancient philosophy as well as the *Parmenides* and *Theaetetus* show that the nominalism which Plato combated was probably of the cruder type. But I must not transform a notice into a criticism.

PAUL SHOREY

Die Homerexegese Aristarchs in ihren Grundzügen. BY ADOLPH ROEMER and EMIL BELZNER. Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh, 1924. Pp. xvi+286.

When Professor Roemer died in the spring of 1913 he left a large mass of unpublished material, some of which was finished, also many fragmentary notes and comments. Dr. Belzner, his pupil, and himself a distinguished Homeric scholar, edited part of these and had them printed under the title, *Homerische Aufsätze*, Teubner, 1914. In the Preface to these *Aufsätze* Dr. Belzner regretted that the announced companion to Roemer's *Athetesen Aristarchs*, the *Aristarch als Exeget Homers*, was in fragments and confusion. However, Dr. Belzner, with rare patience and untiring industry, has gathered and combined these fragments into a volume which is a worthy companion to the one published by Roemer himself. We now have, no doubt, in essentially complete form Roemer's conception of the work of Aristarchus. In some respects this present work is superior to the companion volume, for Dr. Belzner has the power of simple and compact statement, a gift never presented to his teacher.

The two underlying assumptions of all these studies are, first, Aristarchus was a man of perfect literary taste and with unlimited capacity for detecting errors and for finding the truth; second, the *scholia* are so full of errors that they give a caricature and not a portrait of the real Aristarchus.

Often the *scholia* in Venetus A give a hint of the meaning of Aristarchus, then through some omission or addition completely distort it, so that one must look to chance clever sentences in other *scholia*, or to shrewd observations in Strabo, in Athenaeus, or above all to Eustathius to find the original. Other passages in Homer may sometimes give the solution of the problem.

These two rather extreme examples will illustrate the utter wreck in which the *scholia* are found, and the bold way they are handled by Roemer:

σ 44: *γαστέρες αἵδ' αἰγῶν κέατ' ἐν πυρί.* To which the scholiast adds: *ἐν πυρὶ ἀντὶ τοῦ παρὰ πυρί, οὕτως Ἀρίσταρχος.* Roemer rejects this clear statement and reads it thus: *νῦν ἐν πυρὶ κυρίως, οὐκ ἀντὶ τοῦ παρὰ πυρί.* This is a complete reversal. The scholiast to Γ 273, *τῶν ἐναγιζομένων ἐπιβάλλουσι τὰς τρίχας πυρί.* This note seems so out of harmony with the customs in Homeric sacrifices that Professor Roemer emends it so that it reads: *οὔτε τῶν ἐναγιζομένων οὔτε ἐπὶ τοῖς ὅρκοις σφαζομένων ἱερείων ἐπιβάλλουσι τὰς τρίχας πυρί.* Here we have not only the insertion of the negative, but the addition of entirely new ideas.

Roemer has unlimited respect for Aristarchus and will not admit any errors of judgment or of vision in that great Alexandrian, and Aristarchus taught in Alexandria exactly the doctrines that Roemer taught in Erlangen, which simply means that the glorified Aristarchus is none other than Roemer himself.

We have in this book not so much the ideas of the ancient as of the modern scholar, not what Aristarchus wrote, but what he might or should have

written. These ideas are sound, full of clever suggestions, and a great help in the appreciation of Homer. I have learned much from reading them, and wish to thank Dr. Belzner and Professor Drerup for saving to the world of scholarship this series of comments on Homeric interpretation made by so great a master as Professor Roemer.

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Homer, the Origins and the Transmission. By THOMAS W. ALLEN. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1924. Pp. 357.

In the spring of 1888, young Mr. Allen went to Italy to report on the readings of certain Homeric manuscripts. The findings were published in the *Classical Review* and showed that he was then a trained scholar and a competent critic. During all these intervening years he has been the source of a steady stream of pamphlets, studies, and books on the various phases of Homeric investigations.

This latest book contains a restatement and a revision of his views along with much valuable new material.

Everything he has to say on Homer is of such prime importance that I shall confine this review to a brief outline of his opinions.

He is convinced of the utter failure of modern destructive criticism, and he tries once more to reach the views of the ancients themselves. In this he is aided by the assured results of modern archaeology, the real instrument by which the Wolfian doctrines have been successfully attached.

The ancient *Lives of Homer* have a basis of truth, and report a genuine though distorted tradition. Homer is the name of a real Greek, and the *Homeridae* a family joined to Homer in name, in blood, and, somewhat, in occupation. These men were the guardians of the poetry and the traditions of the poet.

Homer was probably born in Chios about 900 B.C. All the poems of the "Trojan Cycle" presuppose an *Iliad* and an *Odyssey*, so does Hesiod, and so do the Homeric *Hymns*. The "Cycle" began early in the eighth century, while Hesiod was of the previous century, not far from 850.

The "Epic Cycle" survived the first centuries of the Christian Era, so that Proclus made his summary from a text and not from previous anthologies or abstracts. There had been, he argues, but few inroads on classical literature until the closing of the philosophical schools by Justinian in 525 A.D. and the Mohammedan conquests of Syria and Egypt a century later. Until this time it is fair to assume that quotations are from originals and not from selections, unless there is proof of the contrary. The language of Chios was a mixture of Aeolic and Ionic, so that the poet put in verse the language he actually spoke, a language uninfluenced by earlier Aeolic lays. The belief that Homer made use of the songs which came from Thessaly fails to note the fact that Thessaly

was far behind the culture of its neighbors on the Aegean, a land without poets or themes for poetry. The songs in honor of Achilles did not have their origin in the land of his birth.

Mr. Allen does not accept my arguments regarding the Greek beliefs in the Homeric authorship of the "Cycle," but he sees in the reference to Callinus, made by Pausanias, clear evidence that Homer was at one time regarded as the poet of the "Cycle," and he thinks it was later criticism which limited Homeric authorship to the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*.

The theory once advanced by Mr. Allen that the Achaeans came from the north is now withdrawn in favor of the view that they came from the east and south. The words "Achaean" and "Danaän" represent a true people, and their names are found in early Egyptian documents; while the word "Argive" was originally an adjective, meaning "dwellers on the level shore or plain," then later became a proper name.

Back of the poetry of Homer was a chronicle which has been preserved in its essentials under the name of Dictys, of Crete, and the thread of the poetry corresponds loosely with this chronicle, but the speeches, the pathos, the life, and the splendor are due to the poet; much the same as Shakespeare stands to his sources.

Pisistratus had little or nothing to do with either the creation or the preservation of Homeric poetry. The Alexandrians made comments and rejected many verses, but these scholars were outside of the real currents of influence. "The Alexandrians' labours, we find, had no effect on the book trade and the character of the copies produced." A study of the papyri, the *scholia*, ancient quotations, and the manuscripts leads him again to the view of Ludwich that the Homeric vulgate was in existence before the Alexandrian period. It was the trade of conservative book-makers and not the emendations of scholars which fixed the text of Homer.

No new lines were added to Homer after 700 B.C. In other words, deliberate augmentation of the text, or material alteration of its meaning, ceased after the eighth and seventh centuries; succeeding changes were limited, with a few exceptions, to vocabulary and forms of words.

Such a work as this could have been written by no one who has not lived many years with Homer, and it seems to me that it will add to Mr. Allen's already great reputation.

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Scriptores Historiae Augustae, with an English translation by David Magie, Ph.D. Three volumes. Loeb Classical Library. London: W. Heinemann, and New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1922. Vol. I.

For the first time we have a rendering in English of this well-known collection of biographies of the Roman emperors of the second and third cen-

turies, which are attributed in the MSS to six otherwise unknown writers. There is perhaps no single work in ancient literature which presents so many problems as to authorship, date, historical sources, and textual emendation. The current views on these questions are presented with impartial thoroughness in an Introduction of some twenty-five pages. Though these *Vitae* are in many respects deficient in historical value and have long been held in contempt for their poor literary quality, nevertheless, since they are the only literary source for much of the period covered, their importance is considerable. But the task of making a readable and intelligible English book out of such material has not been an easy one, for ordinary translation did not suffice; the actual content of the text had constantly to be interpreted and filled out. The excessive compression and exaggerated consciseness of style, affected by all six of these problematical writers, in many passages resulted in obscuring the meaning and even in suppressing certain indispensable links of the narrative. One or two such places are pointed out by the translator (p. 39, n. 4, and p. 412, n. 1), but their great frequency can only be appreciated by a complete comparison of text and translation. Partly because of this slipshod manner of writing, partly due to the nature of the subject-matter, it has been necessary to supplement this interpretative sort of translation with fuller explanatory notes than is usual in the Loeb series. In these the requisite information is furnished on matters of historical, administrative, and personal interest, such as the modern scholar obtains from inscriptions, coins, and other primary sources. All of these services have been rendered very efficiently and thoroughly in the first volume of the new edition, making the work not only more generally accessible but also very much more useful to the student of Roman history. To the lay-reader a very readable and entertaining book is furnished, which is, needless to say, greatly superior to the original in style and clearness. The transference to English idiom is very successful, and there is much lively modernization of phrase; as, to cite a few instances from the first *Vita*, in xi. 3, where *reverentia domus aulicae* is rendered "etiquette at court"; in xx. 1, *in coloquiis . . . . civilissimus* by "most democratic in his conversations." The rather difficult word *tristes* (xiv. 9), is colloquially met by "with their feelings hurt"; and *obsonatores* are in xvii. 4 "caterers."

In the translation itself there is little to challenge, aside from minor inconsistencies, such as the two quite different meanings given to the phrase *in dies* in *Hadr*. xxii. 5, and *Ael*. vi. 5; and in *Sev*. xiv. 7, the presence of the words "in his company," although Peter's added *cum eo* was not admitted in the Latin text. To speak of the Ptolemies in *Sev*. xvii. 2 as "native kings" is misleading and not justified by the simple *regibus* of the text; and in the same sentence "governor" is hardly accurate for *iudex*, even though the *iuridicus* of Alexandria is meant. But such matters are negligible in view of the great service rendered in furnishing us with a workable text as well as translation, a task not usually imposed upon translators of the Loeb series, for the only available text, that of the edition of H. Peter (2 vols., Leipzig, 1884), has long been

recognized as inadequate and promised revisions have been held up by the war and other causes. For the first six *Vitae* new collations of the Palatine codex were furnished by the reviewer, but at that point her collaboration was interrupted. For the rest Peter's edition had to be used, and this was unfortunate since it involved perpetuating in the latter part of the volume number of errors in Peter's report of P, such as were eliminated in the earlier part. But not many matters of interpretation are involved, and where they occur the translator has handled the text with practical good sense and commendable directness and simplicity. The number of places which have been reduced to order and made to render at least a plausible meaning, though Peter left them hopelessly corrupt, is very large; the following may be cited in illustration: *Pert.* x. 2; *Sev.* vi. 9; *Pesc.* vi. 7, and x. 9.

A great deal of improvement has been made by restoring the actual readings of P, where these were misread by Peter or were too readily abandoned by him. Examples of this are noted in *Hadr.* iv. 5, *familiarior* (*familiariorum*, Peter); xi. 3, *iniussu eius* (*in usu eius*, Peter); *Pesc*, v. 4, *tantum* (*nutantum*, Peter); *Com.* xi. 6, *pollutus*, adopting Klein's *adibat* (*polluit*, Peter); *Sev.* vi. 10, *pertimescens de* (*pertimescende*, P) . . . . *iudicabat* (*pertimescendo* . . . . *invidebat*, Peter). On the other hand, the Palatine codex is too full of minor corruptions, consisting especially of omissions of varying extent, to be adhered to as did Peter, where doubtful or unsatisfactory meanings result. The necessary changes have been made in the Loeb text in a great many cases; as in *Hadr.* ii. 5, the necessary *in* is added before *Germaniam;* in *Com.* ii. 9, *atque se* is read for P's *aquam*; likewise in *Pert.* ix. 10, *severius* (for *servis*); x. 1, *qui questus* (for *conquesius*); *Clod. Alb.* v. 8, *nec* (for *ne*); ix. 4, *Qui eius* (for *cuius*); xii. 11, *illi* (for *ille*). The total number of these improvements is so large that one wonders that the principle was not extended to cover also such cases as *Sev.* xii. 8, *in senatum et contionem*, where the ablative is clearly indicated; and *Pert.* iv. 11, where *omnis magistratus* has to serve as a nominative plural. Also in *Hadr.* xix. 13, there seems no reason for retaining P's *post Neronis vultum*, when the translation, "after removing the features of Nero," accepts Oberdick's slight emendation, *posito Neronis vultu.*

But the very corrupt text of the Palatine codex presents problems of far greater difficulty than these, and a body of comment and conjecture has grown up around them, which, already great in Peter's day, has since then greatly increased. The translator of the Loeb edition has shown excellent judgment in adopting the better of these suggestions, and has furthermore made a number of clever emendations of his own. Thus in *Sev.* xix. 5, Zangemeister's conjecture, *eiusdemque etiam Septimianae* (P, probably by haplography, *eius denique etiam ianae*), has been adopted for Peter's meaninglesse *iusdemque etiam ianuae.* In *Hadr.* x. 1, where P has *casuariis* and Peter the unsatisfactory *casuarios*, the reading *civitates variis* is justified by P's constant fault of omission and makes an excellent meaning. The number of such improvements is very great, and only occasionally do they fail to satisfy. For

example, in *Hadr.* iv. 5, a difficult and much discussed reading of P, *sepelisse*, is retained (as was indeed advocated by Novak, in its literal meaning, comparing xx. 12, and *Ver.* vi. 4); but it does not admit the translation given it, "he was . . . . corrupting his favorites." The *ad se pellexisse* of Peter's second edition still seems the best way out of the difficulty that has thus far been suggested.

In the later *Vitae*, if a revised report of P had been available, no doubt some further changes would have been made in the text; as in *Clod. Alb.* x. 12, where, since P has *consulem* (not *consulis*, as Peter reports), it would better be retained. In *Com.* vii. 8, *iniuriis* of P's corrector (P[1] had *iuriis*, not *uiriis*, upon which the Loeb reading *vires* is based) allows a good meaning, in use from the *editio princeps* down. Especially could certain errors be cleared away which burden the critical apparatus with unnecessary notes; e.g., in *Com.* xi. 10, P has the correct *gladiatorium*, not *gladiatorum;* in *Pesc.* viii. 1, P has *fudisse*, not *fuisse;* in *Clod. Alb.* vi. 8, Peter misread an abbreviation: P has *declaratus;* and the readings attributed to P[1] in *Sev.* iv. 5; xiii. 7; *Clod. Alb.* viii. 1 and 2; x. 3; xii. 7, while by the scribe, were changed by the regular corrector, so need not be mentioned. Also some rare forms of words, which owe their presence in the text to false reports of P, should be removed. In *Pesc.* xxiii. 6, the usual form *contusis*, not *contunsis*, occurs in P, and in *Com.* xvi. 6, P has *funeribus*, not *funebribus*. Although the form *perurgueret* does occur in *Pesc.* v. 4, in *Sev.* viii. 7 P has the usual form *perurgeret*, which, therefore, it would seem better to print everywhere, as does Lessing in the *Lexicon S H A.* In *Clod. Alb.* iv. 5, P has the usual word *designat*, not *signat*, which Peter got from B; and P has in *Sev.* xix. 4, *exhibuerant*, not the perfect tense. In *Pert.* xiv. 3, the order in P is *clarissimae uisae*. Peter's failure to note that the word *litteris* in *Pesc.* i. 4, and the word *odiosum* in *Clod. Alb.* iii. 1, do not occur in P but have come in through the late group of interpolated MSS, has given them a misleading authority that should not be continued.

Some errors in the critical apparatus have been noted. On page 24, note 1, *restiterit* is P's reading, not *resteterit;* on page 76, note 2, *recepturam* should be read, not *recepit;* on page 140, note 2, *exenniis* should have been accredited to "P corr."; on page 180, note 1 should read "So Petschenig with P," and "edd. with P corr."; on page 392, note 2 should read "*uictum* Peter[2] with P; *victu* volg."; and on page 486, note 4, "*uarium* (not *uarii*) *nam* P." The readings on page 166, note 4; page 476, note 3, and page 482, note 2, which are attributed to P, belong to P[1], while on page 418, note 4, the reverse is true. The proofreading has been very careful, but has left occasional mechanical errors, as on page 16, line 8, and page 51, last line, bad spacing; on page 167, last line, final letter lost; on page 108, note 2 *vulg.*, and on page 373, line 2, "deified" should not be capitalized. On page 303, line 13, "an" should be removed; and on page 325, line 2 "consul" should be plural. On page 68, note 1, line 2, "restore" cannot be the word intended; and on page 3, line 12, the Roman numeral of the Latin text "VIIII" was translated

"eighth," and the corresponding error made in the marginal date. On page 65, note 4, *ius Latium* occurs for *ius Latinum* or *ius Latii*—under the Empire *Latium* is used alone but not as adjective. The reference on page 76, note 2, to "Novak I, page 3 "is meaningless without a bibliographical list of the contributors to the text whose work has been incorporated in this edition. It is to be regretted that this list has been omitted, for it would have cost but little additional space, and would have increased the already great serviceableness to scholars of this new publication of the *Historia Augusta*.

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De Particulis Copulativis apud Scriptores Historiae Augustae Quaestiones Selectae. By ERIK TIDNER. University of Upsala Press, 1922.

In this dissertation a thorough study is made of the whole subject of the connection of various parts of speech in the *Historia Augusta*, in accordance with a scheme which is indicated in the headings of the eleven chapters, with subdivisions, as listed in a Table of Contents on pages v and vi. A large amount of illustrative material is collected and compared with the usage of Tacitus, Suetonius, Tertullian, the *Panegyrici Latini*, and other later writers. Incidentally, consideration is given to the changes in the meaning of words, and a considerable contribution is made (see footnotes on pp. 17, 24, 34) to the vocabulary and usage of late Latin. Through the conclusions drawn as to the use of various forms of connection in the illustrative passages assembled, a great deal of light is thrown on matters of text in the *SHA*. Particularly interesting is the evidence that in many places the tradition of the Palatine codex should be adhered to, as against the changes admitted in Peter's edition or proposed by other scholars. Other words than the mere connectives themselves are involved in these cases, which are so numerous as to occur on almost every page (see pp. 7, 10, 15, 25, 27, 31, etc., etc.). An especially strong plea is made for keeping asyndeton wherever it rests on MS authority (see p. 34 ff. for many instances). The insertion of connectives has been very freely indulged in by critics of the text, but many examples are shown from other writers of late Latin to supplement the evidence of the *Historia Augusta* of the very common use of asyndeton. Occasionally the writer seems to interpret the needs of the text to prove a desired point, as on page 25 where he proposes to change P's *fuisti* to *fudisti*, to balance the following *vicisti*. He supports this by citing a "similar error" in *Pesc.* viii. 1. But the error in the latter place exists only in Peter's report: P actually has the correct *fudisti*. The author is misled also by Peter's inaccurate report of an erasure in P, which with unwarranted enthusiasm he calls *optimus ille Palatinus codex* (p. 45). Dependence upon Peter's edition has led to the repetition of some errors in the report of P's readings on page 95, note 2, and page

120, note 1. Where the *clausula* is used as a criterion (p. 14), the quantitative form is applied, although it seems certain that these degenerate *Scriptores* used the accentual or at least "mixed" forms, through which also in this case better results would be obtained.

Thus it is clear that, while each place must be carefully weighed on its own merits, a very considerable contribution has been made to the text criticism of the *Historia Augusta*, which no one working with the subject can afford to overlook. The book is written in a Latin which is not only correct but unusually simple and clear, and noticeably free from tedious and involved sentence-structure. An extended Bibliography is prefixed to the discussion, and an *Index Locorum* facilitates reference to the passages in all authors used.

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The Romanization of Roman Britain. By F. Haverfield. Fourth edition, revised by George Macdonald. New York: Oxford University Press, American Branch, 1923. 8vo. Pp. 91, maps and illustrations. $2.50.

Professor Haverfield's brilliant essay is now so well known that it hardly calls for anything more than an expression of hearty welcome in this, its fourth edition. Its inception was in a paper read in 1905 before the British Academy. This was published in the following year. A second edition appeared in 1912, and a third in 1915. Each time the author revised and very considerably enlarged his work. The present edition has been prepared by one of the best-known scholars in Roman-British history and antiquities. He tells us that he has incorporated in in a few notes left by Mr. Haverfield himself for the purpose of a possible later improvement, and has also made a few modifications and additions (including a single new illustration) needed to bring the book up to date. Not much new material has come to light in these years of war and post-war conditions. The work accordingly retains for the most part its former content and aspect.

The Index is deficient, and ought to have been improved. Even under the headings given it omits reference to some important passages, as, for example, under *Deae Matres* to page 21, and under *Vinogradoff* to page 56. Other useful lemmata, like *Hengist*, are entirely absent from the Index. Such an imposing relic as Hadrian's Wall is not mentioned in the text, perhaps because the author did not attempt to describe the actual conquest of Britain or the things connected therewith, and the editor has refrained from enlarging the author's plan.

It is a pity that Mr. Haverfield did not live long enough to write a complete and connected history of Roman Britain. It might, to be sure, become in some degree antiquated by the effects of later discoveries, but that is merely

the unavoidable fate of all histories, especially in new fields. By their mere existence, if they are worth while, they help to bring about their own oblivion. But Mr. Haverfield's book, now left unwritten, could never have lost altogether its value. We should be grateful if some man as well equipped as Mr. Macdonald or Mr. Collingwood might assay the unaccomplished task.

E. T. M.

The Institutio Oratoria of Quintilian, with an English translation by H. E. Butler. Loeb Classical Library. Four volumes. 16mo. New York: Putnam, 1921–22. $2.25 each volume.

The little girl who had Christmas coming every day experienced after a while a certain distaste for such perpetual felicity. The steady appearance of successive volumes of the Loeb series may just conceivably enable the persistent reader thereof to realize in some microscopic degree the nature of the little girl's emotion. But doubtless the series is accomplishing the worthy object for which it was projected. It is also said to have reduced almost to zero the patronage in student circles of the once dearly beloved Bohn series.

Of course there will be always with us the question whether a translation ought to retain some echo at least of the original author's manner, or should be conformed to the translator's idea of how the work might well have been written, if written in the modern tongue. Professor Butler, an excellent scholar and experienced translator, has followed the latter plan. His translation reads very smoothly and pleasantly indeed, but it does not suggest Quintilian's manner. Particularly it takes at least one-half more words to say the thing than Quintilian did, and it often takes them needlessly. One misses greatly the concise vigor of the Roman expressions. Yet Mr. Butler does not shrink also from abridging Quintilian's phrases, whenever he chooses. At this moment my eye lights upon a small but fair example. *In disputationibus quae sunt de oratore*, says Quintilian (x. 3. 1); "In the *De Oratore*," says Mr. Butler for him. But there was no need for thus taking the color out of Quintilian's expression. Indeed, *disputationibus* does not merely give color. Still less is it otiose. By thus reminding us that the books *De Oratore* are discussions in dialogue form, Quintilian suggests how readily and naturally Cicero can put his opinion into the mouth of Lucius Crassus. The rendering by Mr. Butler is rather an emendation of Quintilian's meaning than a translation of it. So in x. 1. 63, Quintilian remarks of Alcaeus that though he wrote love-poems, he was *maioribus tamen aptior*. This Mr. Butler renders by "despite his aptitude for loftier themes." The version sounds a bit Johnsonesque beside the neat simplicity of the original. But the main question is, Why should the comparative in *aptior* be thus toned down? Part of Quintilian's criticism thus vanishes. There are many like instances in Mr. Butler's work.

As examples of the smooth elaboration of Quintilian's much more pointed wording the following may serve. In that same passage about Alcaeus, Quintilian says of him *sed et lusit,* for which Mr. Butler gives us, "but he also wrote poetry of a more sportive nature." Is not that a bit unnecessarily heavy for the simple *sed et lusit?* And does Mr. Butler's phrase really translate *lusit?* It might suggest to the non-classicist merely some witty verses that had nothing to do with *amores.*

Again, after mentioning that even great writers have acknowledged defects, Quintilian remarks (x. 2. 15), *atque utinam tam bona imitantes dicerent melius quam mala peius dicant;* for this we have in the version, "I only wish that imitators were more likely to improve on the good things than to exaggerate the blemishes of the authors whom they seek to copy." In that English sentence all after "blemishes" has nothing corresponding to it in the Latin. It is a bit of easily avoidable padding. "Were more likely to" also departs ineffectively from Quintilian's plain "would." And the utter loss of the pungency in *tam bona melius quam mala peius* is surely a real deprivation.

Once more, in speaking of a certain metrical foot Quintilian says (ix. 4. 80), *huic contrarium . . . . choreum, non, ut alii, trochaeum nominemus.* This would appear to mean, "Let us call its reverse a choree, and not, as others do, a trochee." But Mr. Butler's rendering is, "Its opposite is a choreus, for I prefer that term to the name of trochee which is given it by others." This is another instance of the tendency of the translator to unnecessary elaboration of phrase, and to the substitution of interpretation for plain and sufficient translation.

One may as well stop right here. These few random examples are easily to be paralleled everywhere in the four volumes. Perhaps the matter is only one *de gustibus,* and must be left so. But it is not one on the critic's part of demanding impossibilities. One might suspect that Mr. Butler was beguiled into a long task, about which he did not take great joy in prospect, and which he found somewhat tedious in execution, and could not quite perform with eager zest and persistent attention. I do not blame him in the least, if that is so; I thoroughly sympathize with the emotions (or lack of emotions) that I have imagined may have been his.

The translation flows along clearly and smoothly. I could wish it sometimes didn't. I wish it would occasionally ripple and quiver and glint a bit. Is Quintilian really in that respect inimitable in a translation?

It must be an officious proofreader who made Mr. Butler say (xii. 10. 31) that the Greeks very frequently ended their words with "the letters *ny*"; though I should suppose it might have been better to let the Greek letter ν stand in the translation instead of the Latin transliteration of the name of the letter.

E. T. M.

Manuel des études grecques et latines. Par L. LAURAND. Paris: A. Picard, 1921. 8vo. Pp. vii+933.

This work is a systematic outline of classical encyclopaedia. It had its source and prompting in the lectures given to his students by the author. Of these lectures it may be regarded as a summary, but a summary that is well adapted for reading by those who have not enjoyed the advantage of M. Laurand's oral exposition. The publication was originally by fascicles to the number of eight, the first of them appearing in 1913. All are now combined in a single stout volume. But meanwhile (the war will account for the delay in completing the publication) the first six fascicles had passed to a second edition, in which form they now appear in the finished work. The several parts have been favorably noticed as they were issued, and all that the total volume now needs is a word of cordial recognition.

The book is furnished with both a full analytic Table of Contents and a sufficient alphabetic Index. The use of it for reference is thus made very easy, and it will be found amply to repay the student who may even essay to study it as a textbook from beginning to end. Professor Laurand's breadth and precision of knowledge are as striking as his patient industry in putting such a work together. His judgments are keen and interestingly put, as is the habit of French scholars. The bibliographies scattered liberally along the pages will be found very useful by students, though English and American scholars might wish to see some additions made to them. But the book is of course primarily designed for the use of French students.

E. T. M.

Corpus Inscriptionum Etruscarum. A CAROLO PAULI conditum et B. NOGARA adiutore ab O. A. DANIELSSON et G. HERBIG continuatum. Supplementi fasc. I. Libri lintei Etrusci Fragmenta Zagrabiensia adiuvante O. A. DANIELSSON edidit GUSTAVUS HERBIG. Pp. 33, tab. XII. Leipzig, 1919–21.

Corpus Inscriptionum Etruscarum ii. i. 2 cur. O. A. DANIELSSON. Pp. 105–82. Leipzig, 1923.

The appearance of these parts marks the energetic resumption, after a long interval, of a great undertaking which was begun more than thirty years ago. The first volume of the *Etruscan Corpus*, similar in form to the *Greek Corpus* and the *Latin Corpus*, and published under the auspices of the Prussian and Saxon academies with Pauli as editor, bears the imprint 1893–1902. After the death of Pauli in 1901, the task of carrying on the work was intrusted to Danielsson, who had actively co-operated with Pauli from the beginning, and Herbig. Volume ii. i. 1 was published in 1907, ii. ii. 1 in 1912.

Suppl. fasc. 1 is devoted to the famous inscription on mummy wrappings in the museum of Zagreb (Agram), which was first recognized as Etruscan and

published by Krall in 1891, and which is by far the most extensive document in the Etruscan language. In the prolegomena Herbig cites all the records pertaining to the wrappings and the mummy (it was brought from Egypt in 1848–49), and discusses the question of date, relationship to the mummy, etc. His conclusion is that the writing dates from between 30 (or 50) B.C. and 50 A.D. and that nothing stands in the way of our believing that the mummy is that of a woman of Etruscan family resident in Egypt and that there is some connection, not accidental, between writing and mummy. The text is followed by notes on the readings, a list of words, and photographs of the strips. Attempts to interpret the text are rigorously excluded, as is fitting (in this case) for a work of permanent character.

ii. i. 2 (tit. 5211–5326) contains inscriptions from western Etruria, of which the most important is that on the lead plate of Magliano. ii. i. 3 and ii. ii. 2, the latter to contain the material from Campania, are promised in the near future.

It is fortunate that it has been possible to proceed with the publication of this monumental work, which will furnish a complete and trustworthy record of the Etruscan inscriptions. Apart from its importance to all concerned with the history of ancient Italy, the recent discoveries in Asia Minor have awakened new interest in the question of Etruscan affinities.

C. D. Buck

Catullus and His Influence. By Karl Pomeroy Harrington, A.M., Professor of Latin, Wesleyan University. Boston: Marshall Jones Co. 1923. 8vo. Pp. ix+249.

This volume, Number 11 of the series "Our Debt to Greece and Rome," is designed to set forth for the non-professional as well as for the student those circumstances and qualities which made Catullus known in his own day and throughout the history of humanistic tradition. The author's choice of passages is happy, and his range of Renaissance and modern references most satisfactory in an age when classicists, bemoaning the decay of antique learning among students of present-day literature, are themselves occasionally prone to neglect the stream of classical influences in post-classical milieux.

The indexes make the work a joy to any reader who is busying himself with literary cross-referencing; on the other hand, it is unfortunate that the generally careful proofreader should have permitted ten absurd misprints in five pages containing French and Italian citations (pp. 111–12, 126–28).

Robert Valentine Merrill

Etruria and Rome. By R. A. L. Fell. Thirwall Prize Essay. Cambridge University Press, 1924. Pp. 182.

This book—thorough, accurate, and up to date throughout—will be useful as a summary of the evidence for the Etruscans and their relations with

the Romans. Perhaps the most valuable section is the first one on the origin and growth of the Etruscan power. There one finds a sane discussion of the origin of the Etruscans and an interesting account of early Etruscan trade. The closeness and directness of the contact between Etruria and Greece are constantly emphasized. On the question of what the Etruscans themselves actually believed about their own origin reference might have been made to Tacitus *Annals* iv. 55. One could wish for a more sustained discussion of the relation of the Etruscans to the Villanova peoples who had already settled the towns to which the foreigners came. When the system of regular town plans is ascribed to the Etruscans, the *terremare* settlements, which are now generally assigned to the ancestors of the Villanova peoples, should certainly be mentioned. There is a possibility that at Marzabotto the Etruscans were using a method of town planning which they had learned in Italy.

In discussing the Etruscans in Latium in the next section Mr. Fell wisely guards against exaggerating their influence and their numbers. He believes that there was an Etruscan conquest of Rome about 600 B.C. With regard to the legends of the Etruscan kings he is disinclined to accept the details of the tradition. He follows Pais in finding a duplication between the stories of the two Tarquins, and he agrees with De Sanctis in identifying Mastarna not with Servius Tullius but with Lars Porsenna. Again he follows Pais in refusing to believe that the Porsenna of Livy's second book was king of Clusium on the ground that Clusium had not then entered "the political horizon of Rome." He would make Porsenna king or chieftain of Veii. In all these cases the tradition seems to deserve more faith than Mr. Fell is disposed to give it.

The last sections on the Roman conquest of Etruria and Umbria and on the decline of Etruria furnish an adequate treatment of material that is most of it available elsewhere. The chapters might to advantage have been curtailed to permit more detailed discussion of the more interesting and less accessible evidence discussed in the earlier sections. Mr. Fell seems not to be familiar with the most significant investigation of the Etruscan league (Bormann, *Arch. Epig. Mitt. aus Oesterreich-Ungarn*, XXI [1887], 103–26).

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After Life in Roman Paganism. BY FRANZ CUMONT. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1922.

The lectures that compose this volume were delivered at Yale University in 1921 on the Silliman Foundation, which was established "to illustrate the presence and providence, the wisdom and goodness of God as manifested in the natural and moral world." From the titles of the fifteen volumes previously issued on this foundation it seems that the lectures have hitherto been confined to the "natural world." If the association with the "moral world"

was to be emphasized, no lecturer could have offered material of wider interest than the eminent Belgian scholar, Professor Cumont. His discussion of the Roman attitude toward immortality could not fail to be significant, for he has been foremost in placing in its true perspective the relation of Rome to the Orient and in showing how the Eastern beliefs and worships transformed the thought and life of Rome. Though he states that in the present volume he has done no more than present a sketch of the desired investigation, he has given us a far more comprehensive investigation than has hitherto been available. Roman paganism, according to Professor Cumont's conception, belongs not simply to Rome or to Italy but to all the world under Roman sway. Literature and inscriptions—both Greek and Latin—paintings, sculpture, and architectural monuments from every section of the Empire contribute to the portrayal of the beliefs of educated and uneducated. The book provides extraordinary evidence for the contacts between East and West and for the unity of culture which the contacts brought.

In the historical introduction Rome is the center of the picture and the closing years of the republic and the early empire from the period that is most fully treated. Especially interesting are the discussions of the influence on popular belief exercised by the materialistic conceptions of the Epicureans and by the ideas of immortality fostered by Posidonius and the neo-Pythagoreans. The effect of the mysteries in spreading faith in rewards and punishment comes out clearly.

The eight well-documented lectures that follow treat not chronologically but topically of various phases of the belief in life after death—after-life in the tomb, the nether-world, celestial immortality, the winning of immortality, untimely death, the journey to the beyond, the sufferings of hell, the felicity of the blessed. The lectures, perhaps most of all the one on untimely death, are rich in material for the interpretation of classical literature. They show, not in the usual vague generalizations, but in clear and definite form, how the ideas current in Roman paganism were influential in shaping the Christian conception of heaven and hell. The winning of immortality through works, which is a familiar theme in classical literature, is not included by Professor Cumont as a form of after-life that comes within the scope of his investigation. The translation by Miss Helen Douglas Irvine is admirable and the lectures form easy and interesting reading.

Lily Ross Taylor

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Orphicorum Fragmenta collegit. By Otto Kern. Berlin: Weidmann, 1922.

Professor Kern has brought out a new and comprehensive collection of the records and fragments of the Orphics. The work is inscribed to Diels, his preceptor and friend. It would be impossible here to give an adequate notion of the mass of material collected in this volume of over four hundred

pages. This space is largely occupied by the *testimonia* and fragments themselves, put together in the form of Diels's *Fragments of the Pre-Socratics*, but without any translation, and with no commentary save an occasional note, and, of course, critical apparatus.

The first part contains the ancient evidence concerning the life, family, teachers, education, personal characteristics, and pursuits of the founder of the cult himself; the branches of study with which he busied himself, his writings, and his founding of the Bacchic and Eleusinian mysteries. To this is added all the congeries of tradition which grew up about his name after his death, his apotheosis, and the influence he exerted upon his disciples and on later thought, including his connection with the early Christian church and the Fathers. A further section deals with the ancient sects who took his name. Then follow the lists preserved of his writings, and of the authors of antiquity who make mention of him, or wrote commentaries upon him.

The second part begins with the older fragments of Orpheus' works, and then goes on to give the fragments of the works ascribed to him, and the evidence pertaining thereto, each work occupying a separate section. On page 117 is to be found a brief account of the fragment of gold plate found at Thurii in 1879 and now in the Naples Museum, containing some of the λεγομένων ἀπορρήτων of the sect, together with a facsimile.

The volume concludes with a list of the more important commentaries on Orpheus and the Orphics. The student has also at his disposal no less than seven indexes, which include tables of the Orphic writings, the sources of the fragments, proper names, the more important words, and the poets and philosophers of antiquity who derived something from Orphic influence.

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